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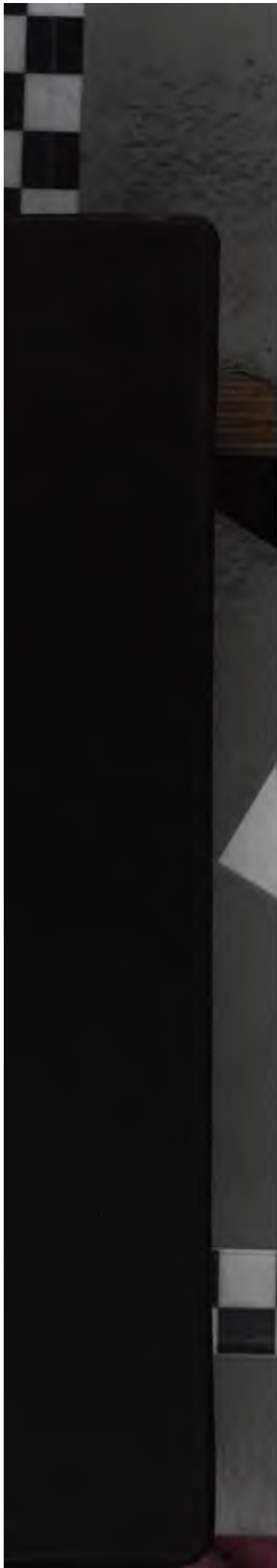
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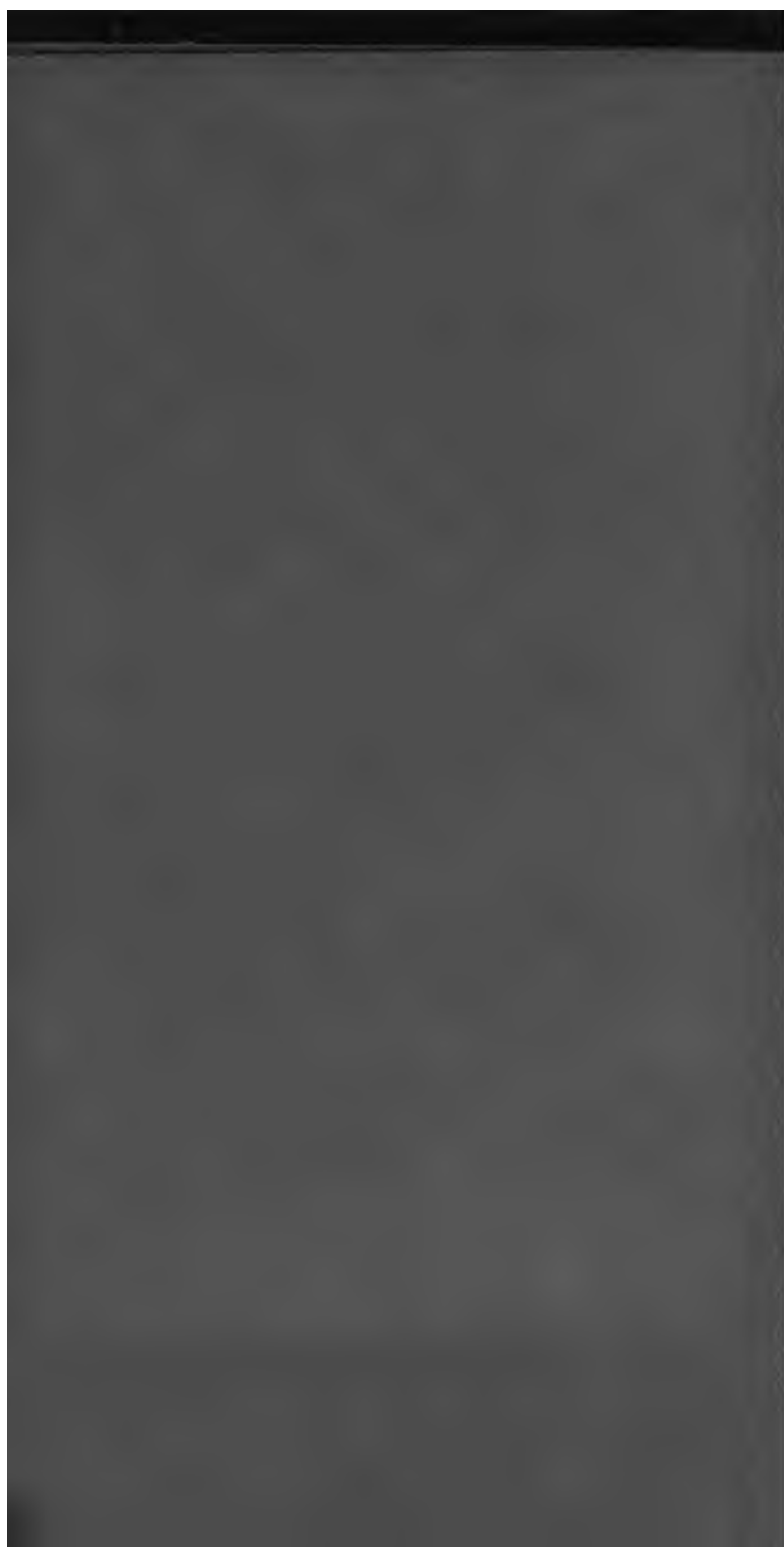
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THE
HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION
IN THE
CHURCH OF CHRIST;

CONTINUED FROM THE
CLOSE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

BY
THOMAS GAILLARD.

"The event has proved the Reformation-work to be of God. Wherever it went, and its great principles have been cherished, it has raised men from moral slavery to freedom; it has favored the sciences that ennoble man, and the arts that minister to his prosperity; and just in proportion as its true and essential elements are prized and cherished, the Church will be restored to the purity and happiness of its best days, and the Temple of God will indeed rise amidst the dwellings of men."—AM. PROTESTANT.

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P R E F A C E.

THE progress of the Reformation in the Church has been traced, through the successive ages, from the middle of the third to the close of the fifteenth century. We have seen that glimmering light which burst upon the benighted world, at a period when the Church, corrupted by the introduction of Pagan rites, and debased by the spiritual ambition of its rulers, had but just commenced a long reign of tyranny and oppression, shedding its feeble rays around the capital of the Western Empire, and appearing with a more diffuse lustre in the obscure and distant provinces of the East. Although at times indistinct and dim, through the dark clouds which covered the entire cope of heaven, it arose with renewed brightness, and returning in its westward course, was again visible, but with a meridian splendor, to the still benighted nations of Europe. We have traced the rise and progress to universal dominion, of that spiritual potentate who, from the humble station of a Presbyter of the Church, "exalted his throne above the stars of God, who said in his heart, I will ascend above the heights of the clouds, I will be like the Most High." We are now to behold the pomp of him "who made the earth to tremble, and shook the kingdoms, who made the world as a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof," brought down from its proud elevation, and shorn of its grandeur.

The conflict of antagonist principles, of tyranny on the one side, and of civil and religious liberty on the other, forms a prominent feature in the history of the Reformation. The moral and physical power of Christendom sustained the aggressions and usurpations of the Hierarchy, while the force of Truth alone shielded its victims from destruction, and bore them triumphant through the struggle.

The celebrated Italian statesman and philosopher, Niccolo Machiavelli, remarked, at the close of the fifteenth century, that "the greatest prognostic of the approaching ruin of Christianity is, to see that the nearer people are to Rome, which is the capital of Christianity, the less devotion they have. The scandalous examples, and the crimes of the court of Rome, have occasioned Italy to lose entirely every principle of piety, and every sentiment of religion. The rest of us Italians," he says, "have therefore this first obligation to the Church and the priests, for having become impious and profligate." From their proximity to the seat of corruption and vice, the inhabitants of Italy had become either Popish idolaters or atheists—they either adored the "Lady of Loretto," or the "Goddess of Reason"—either acknowledged the tutelary guardianship of saints, or denied a superintending Providence. Such was the system of the Papal mythology, the Polytheism of Rome, in the beginning of the sixteenth

century—a system which the pontiffs for ages before had been skillfully constructing, and which they had but too firmly associated with the political and religious institutions of Europe.

This system was arrayed not only against the theology of the sacred Scriptures, but against the intellectual improvements of the age. The Inquisitors of Cologne obtained an imperial edict for the destruction of Hebrew books. "Religion is undone," said the doctors of the Sorbonne, "if the general study of the Greek and Hebrew be permitted." "A new language," said a mendicant monk, "has been invented, which is called Greek; guard carefully against it, it is the mother of every species of heresy. I observe in the hands of a great many people a book written in this language, which they call the New Testament; it is a book full of thorns and serpents. With respect to Hebrew, it is certain, my dear brethren, that all who learn it are instantly converted to Judaism." Leo X., the boasted patron of literature, prohibited by rigorous penalties, the printing and publishing of books translated from the Greek, Hebrew, or Arabic; and when, five years after, he issued his Bull against Luther and the Bibles, as well as every other publication by the Reformers, he issued another Bull, in the name of Jesus Christ, &c., in favor of the profane poems of Ariosto. Fra Paolo has affirmed that books were prohibited under pretext of religion, but "solely because the authority of princes and magistrates was supported in them against the usurpations of ecclesiastics." The scholastic theology of the dark ages, which is remarkable only for its metaphysical subtlety and mysticism, the decisions of the Church, and the opinions of the fathers, and of the monks of the tenth century, composed the religious works of the Popish writers of this age, and upon them were engrafted a most corrupt system of ethics. There is nothing in them of spiritual instruction, and of the pure doctrines of Christianity. The supremacy and infallibility of the Pope, and passive obedience to his authority, formed the ground-work of the vast structure of Papal divinity. "The whole of our faith," says Pallavicini, "rests upon one individual article, viz., the infallible authority of the Church. The moment, therefore, we give up any part whatever, the whole falls; for what admits not of being divided, must evidently stand entire or fall entire."

It was against this system that the Reformation had been struggling from age to age with unequal strength, and with utter hopelessness, before the dawn of a new era shed its enlivening rays upon its rugged pathway, and opened to its view new scenes of victory and of triumph.

"A variety of circumstances," says the Rev. Dr. Miller, "contributed to this happy result. The impolitic and ferocious violence of some of the Popes in the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries; the openly profligate lives of some others of these high functionaries; the abominable licentiousness which generally characterized their court and capital; the shockingly corrupt manners of the clergy every where; the gross ignorance and shameless effrontery of the several orders of mendicants; the seventy years' 'Babylonish Captivity,' as it was called, at Avignon; the grand Western Schism of forty years' continuance, which followed it, in which two and sometimes three Popes appeared, abusing and excommunicating each other, loading each other with the most revolting insults, and reproaching each other, and not unjustly, with the most degrading vices;

the grievous Papal exactions of every kind, and especially the profligate system of indulgences, that monstrous abuse of the most monstrous of all usurped powers; the intolerance and cruelty of the Inquisition; and the grievous wounds inflicted on the cause of truth and decorum, by the ferocious wars carried on by some of the monastic orders, more especially by the Dominicans and Franciscans, among themselves;—surely all these are quite sufficient to account for the hatred and contempt which appeared to be lurking in the breasts of so many at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The friends of the Papacy, at the opening of the century, thought that all was not only tranquil, but safe. But it was only the portentous calm which precedes the heaving earthquake. The only wonder is that the explosion had not occurred years before, that the superstitious reverence of the people had not much sooner given place to a settled abhorrence and indignation, prompting them to rise as one man and throw off their chains.

“At length, however, the time, even the ‘set time to favor Zion,’ had come. The Papal fabric, built up and cemented by the superstitions and the prejudices of ages, was destined, with respect to a large portion of Europe, to be prostrated in the dust. Instruments were raised up for the accomplishment of the work, and means apparently insufficient were made to prevail, with a power, and to an extent, which those whose instrumentality was employed were by no means prepared to anticipate.

“Every Christian owes it to himself, to his Master, and to the Church of God, to study this great revolution, in its rise, progress, instruments, establishment, and immeasurable effects. We are too apt to forget the toil, the dangers, and the privations which our fathers of the Reformation underwent in securing those privileges in which we still rejoice. Few portions of history can be better adapted to instruct in truth, to animate in duty, and to excite Christians to be ‘followers of them who, through faith and patience, inherit the promises.’

“I do not forget that many who glory in the name of ‘Protestant,’ appear to have but little sympathy with those noble-minded Christian heroes who braved all the terrors of martyrdom for the sake of delivering the Church from the thralldom of error and superstition under which she had so long groaned. Some of these appear to imagine that although the corruptions of the Papacy, as they were then exhibited, were such as fully to justify the Reformers in all that they said and did for their removal; yet that the character of the Romish Church has *essentially altered since that time*, and is *now* a system, if not entirely harmless, at least little adapted to inspire apprehension in the mind of an enlightened and liberal Christian.

“This view of the subject I believe to be entirely erroneous. The system of Romanism is, in its nature, spirit, and purposes, precisely what it was when Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and Cranmer went forth in the name of the Lord, and lifted up their banner against her. She has not abated ‘one jot or tittle’ of either her tyrannical claims, or her pestiferous corruptions. Indeed, considering the essential nature of her claims, they cannot be either mitigated or altered without being totally abandoned. That this has never been done, we have evidence of the most conclusive kind on every side.”

When we revert to the moral condition of those countries which still render to the Papal power that servile obedience which may be said to have character-

ized all the nations of Europe before the sixteenth century, we are enabled to form a correct estimate of the blessings secured by the Reformation. The example furnished by these confirms the assertion that the genius of Popery is the same as exhibited to us in the history of the middle ages. There we behold intellectual and spiritual bondage not less degrading—the same gross idolatry, the same superstitious worship of saints, the same absurd and impious ceremonies in religious services, the same corrupt system of morals, the same restrictions upon liberty of thought, equally imperative prohibitions against the reading of the sacred Scriptures, and other writings of moral and religious instruction, the same system of priestcraft, the same slavish submission to the authority of the Church.

The great purpose of the Reformers was to release the human mind from the tyranny of the Roman Hierarchy, and to secure to it the inestimable privilege of freedom of thought; to restore it to that dignity and moral elevation designed for it by the Creator, when he made man in his own image, and inspired him with a living soul.

We shall greatly mistake the true causes of that great moral Revolution, if we look simply to the sale of indulgences, or to any novel pretensions of the pontiffs, or to innovations in the established religious institutions of Christendom. The true causes are to be found in the very constitution of our nature, in the expansive powers of the intellect, in that principle which propels the mind forward in the investigation of great moral truths. The physical cause which hastened its consummation was the construction of moveable types. This discovery opened a new era in the advancement of knowledge. The art of printing sprung into existence in a state of perfection. The productions of philosophers, of statesmen, of theologians, multiplied, and were accessible by all. Philology became the favorite study of the schools and of the closet. Orientalism presented an inexhaustible mine of research. Sacred antiquities were investigated with ardor and perseverance, and the wide and boundless field of Biblical literature was opened to the inquirer. The human mind could no longer be restrained within its accustomed sphere of action. It moved forward with an impulsive energy, and overthrew in its progress the flimsy bulwarks within which Popery had for centuries intrenched itself. This great revolution, so unexpected, so irresistible in its movement, so complete in its results, so beneficial in all its consequences, was the boon of Heaven to the debased and benighted nations of the earth.

With these introductory remarks the writer submits the following pages to the judgment of a liberal public, with the consciousness of having written them, if not with ability, with a strict adherence to high and unquestionable authorities, from which the facts he has narrated have been laboriously and carefully collected. What has been his plan in the compilation of the work can be better understood by a reference to the "Contents," than by any explanatory remarks he could here make on the subject. To the imperfections in its composition, and to its merits, apart from its character as a faithful delineation of the great and interesting events recorded in history, he will not hazard an allusion; these are amenable to the tribunal of severe and impartial criticism—he will, with all due submission, acquiesce in its award.

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THE HISTORY

OF THE

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE beginning of the sixteenth century is an important epoch in the political history of Europe, and in the Reformation of the Christian Church. It was at this period that the several kingdoms of that portion of the globe assumed those forms which they retained until the nineteenth century; when the conquests of Napoleon Buonaparte established, for a time, new dynasties, and revolutionized the ancient system of European politics. The principle of a balance of power*—by which the weaker States would be protected from the encroachments and usurpations of the stronger, and an undue or dangerous accession of power by one might be restrained—seems to have been adopted at this time by those governments, for their mutual defence and preservation. Previous to this period each nation appears to have carried on its conquests, and its systems of aggression, without any interference by those not immediately affected, and without any opposition but by the party whose rights and territories were directly invaded. The acquisitions, by England, on the continent, in the middle of the fourteenth century—when, by the Treaty of Bretigni, “the Provinces of Guienne, Gascony, Poitou, Saintonge, the Limousin, and the Angoumois, as well as Calais, and the county of Ponthieu, were ceded in full sovereignty to Edward III.”—excited not the alarm, and scarcely

* This system was perfected by the Congress of Munster in 1648, by the treaty known in history as “the Peace of Westphalia.”

attracted the attention, of the potentates of Europe. In consequence of this system of non-interference, insensible changes were made in the extent and boundaries of their respective kingdoms; and the peace, as well as the stability, of the several nations was incessantly disturbed. The Papal Court of Rome was the only political power which exercised a controlling influence in questions affecting the general interest; and, operating upon insulated and detached parties, by virtue of its spiritual character, it succeeded but too fatally in accomplishing its ambitious designs, and securing its own aggrandizement. This power, assuming the prerogative of a general pacificator, suspended the progress of usurpation, or encouraged aggression, as its own cunning policy dictated. The balance of power which it endeavored to maintain was that which its advancement might sanction, in the conflicts between the spiritual and temporal powers. It declared that, "under its command are two swords, the one spiritual and the other temporal:"* and it destroyed the equilibrium by casting them into that scale in which its own interests might preponderate—as Boniface VIII. attempted to arrest the conquests of Edward I. in Scotland, claiming to be paramount lord over that kingdom—but when Boson, in the ninth century, had usurped Provence in Cisjurane Burgundy, John VIII. threatened the Carlovingian Princes, to whom it rightfully belonged, with the sentence of an excommunication, if they attempted to regain it—on the ground that he had adopted that illustrious prince as his son. When Innocent III. enlisted Louis VIII. in the persecution of the Albigenses, he cautioned the English monarch, Henry III., not to make war on France, "so long as Louis is engaged in the affair of the Faith, and service of Jesus Christ, &c."

In Italy, this policy of maintaining a balance of power is first discernible among those numerous independent States which governed it. Without this restraining and defensive system, the ecclesiastical States would have been overwhelmed by their more powerful neighbors. With a view of preserving the integrity of those petty sovereignties, the Popes were ever averse

* "Uterque est in potestate ecclesiæ, spiritalis, scilicet gladius et materialis. Sed is quidem pro ecclesiâ, ille vero ab ecclesiâ exercendus," &c. (Extravagant, Lib. I.)

to any interference by foreign powers in the political affairs of that Peninsula. Gregory IX. preached a crusade against Frederick II., Emperor of Germany, having for its object his dispossession of the Italian dominions. In the contest that Pope undertook to depose the emperor, and to offer his crown to Louis IX. of France.

The elevation of Charles V. to the Imperial throne, in 1519, awakened the fears of the European powers to the greatness and grandeur of the House of Austria; and gave rise to that system of political equilibrium, which has been, since that period, the leading object of the cabinets of Europe. To this prominent feature in the diplomacy of the courts, we must refer the stirring events which occurred in this century, and which occupy the most interesting pages of modern history.

Charles ascended the throne of Spain in the year 1516, on the death of his grandfather, Ferdinand the Catholic. He was the son of Philip, Archduke of Austria; and grandson of Maximilian, first Emperor of Germany. The marriage of Maximilian with Mary, daughter and heiress of Charles the Rash, the last Duke of Burgundy, vested in the House of Austria the whole of the Low Countries, including *Franche-Comte*, *Flanders*, and *Artois*.* A part of these constituted the patrimonial dominions of Charles. As the heir of Ferdinand, he acquired the kingdoms of Spain, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, together with Spanish America. To his brother Ferdinand he ceded all his hereditary possessions in Germany. His marriage with the Infanta Isabella, daughter of Emanuel, King of Portugal, enlarged the possessions and power of the family of Austria, by vesting in it the whole Portuguese monarchy. His brother Ferdinand, having married Anne, sister and heiress of Louis, King of Hungary and Bohemia, acquired the sovereignty of those united kingdoms.

This concentration of political powers and wealth in the two branches of the House of Austria—which was made still more formidable by the close alliance between them for their mutual aggrandizement, and by the unconcealed ambition of Charles—

* *Franche-Comte* and *Artois* were, however, seized by Louis XI. of France; on the ground of a failure of male heirs, agreeably to the grant of John II. to his son Philip.

compelled the reigning Princes of Europe to adopt a system of self-defence against the threatened encroachments of the Austrian compact. But it will be proper, before we trace the progress of events, to advert to the condition of those States which exercised a controlling influence over the political affairs of Europe in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Louis XII., of the House of Orleans, succeeded Charles VIII. of the Valois family, in the year 1498. These houses, however, were both the descendants of Philip VI., the son of Charles of Valois, who was the grandson of St. Louis. The right of Philip to the succession was contested by Edward III., of England, who claimed the throne as the grandson of Isabel, the sister of Charles IV., the predecessor of Philip. This contest for the crown of France gave rise to those desolating wars between the two kingdoms, which commenced in 1328, and continued until 1450—when the English, after the battle of Formigny, in Normandy, were finally expelled from the territories of France.

The regal powers of the French throne were successively acquired—and rose to their present greatness by a gradual acquisition of territorial dominion. At the accession of Louis VI., in 1108, the Provinces of Orleanois, Berry, and Isle of France, constituted its principal domain. The feudal system flourished; and the authority of the king was frequently disputed by the barons, who carried their aggressions to the walls of the capital. By marriage or by conquests, however, the baronial domains were successively annexed to the kingdom. In the reign of Louis VII. Normandy and Anjou were fiefs of the English crown; and Henry II., who had married Eleanor, the heiress of Guienne, held in sovereignty the fairest portion of that country. Aquitaine was, however, annexed to the crown of France; and Philip Augustus, who ascended the throne in 1180, added to it Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, conquered from the English. He also dispossessed the court of Flanders of a part of Picardy, and of Artois. His successor, Louis VIII., acquired Poitou and Guienne. In 1229, Languedoc was ceded to Louis IX. by the court of Toulouse. In 1272, Philip III. acquired Provence. In 1349, Humbert II. ceded Dauphine to Philip of Valois. Angouleme and La Marche were annexed previously, in the reign of Philip the Fair, by a sentence of forfeiture against the reigning court. These instances are stated as exemplifications of the

gradual extension of the regal dominions of the French monarchy. Many of these possessions were however wrested from the kings of France in their contests with the English monarchs: and it was not until the middle of the fifteenth century that these conflicts for the right of domain terminated. Louis XI., about the year 1477, took possession of the Duchy of Burgundy, and the free county, (Franche-Comte,) Picardy, Boulogne, and Artois, as escheated French fiefs, after the death of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, who was killed at the siege of Nanci. By the treaty of Arras, in 1482, he obtained an undisputable right to the Provinces of Artois and Franche-Comte.

The ancient monarchy of France was elective; but the choice of a successor to the last reigning sovereign seems to have been conferred by a strict rule of descent, and was, in effect, a matter of form. The crown evidently descended, by a regular and uninterrupted succession, from Meroveus, who died in 458, to Childeric III., who was deposed in 752 by Pepin le Bref, Mayor of the Palace.* Pepin was a descendant of Pharamond, under whom the settlement of the Franks in Gaul was finally accomplished in the year 420.

From Pepin, who was a usurper, the crown descended, by an uninterrupted line, to Louis V., who was poisoned in 967. Hugh Capet, who was also a descendant of Pharamond, and of Pepin d'Heristal, the grandfather of Pepin le Bref, was raised to the throne by his vassals and some noblemen, and was crowned at Rheims. This was also a usurpation, and an interruption of the regular succession, as Charles, Duke of Lorraine, the uncle of Louis, was the rightful heir. From Hugh Capet the line of succession has been unbroken.†

About the close of the tenth century, fiefs, which before had

* The Mayors of the Palace first held their appointments during pleasure—afterward, for life. Eventually, the office became hereditary. Their duties were first restricted to the palace; but in time they exercised all the rights of sovereignty.

† Some writers, however, maintain that the crown was always hereditary; others, that under the two first races, or the *Merovingian* and *Carlovingian*, it was elective, and under the third, or *Capetian*, that it became hereditary; others that it was hereditary under the first, elective under the second, and again hereditary under the third. Vertot however has affirmed that, in all instances, it was both hereditary and elective. (See O'Halloran's Ireland.)

been at most but life estates, became hereditary. This was also the epoch of titles of nobility as an hereditary distinction. The dukes or governors of provinces, and the counts who were governors of cities, taking advantage of the weakness of the Carolingian princes, became proprietaries of the places in which they had been but civil or military magistrates. The possession therefore of lands was the foundation of hereditary distinctions of nobility; and this innovation in the ancient feudal tenures may be traced from this period. These several titles were usurped by the lords or proprietors, and not voluntarily conceded by their respective sovereigns, (as they were subsequently,) as evidences of royal favor. Letters or patents of nobility were first conferred in 1271 by Philip III.

The right which the barons claimed of waging war for the defence of their castles, and redressing their private wrongs, forms a remarkable feature in the history of the ages succeeding the tenth century. In 1194, Richard I., of England, refused to insert in a treaty with Philip II. (Augustus) an article restraining the French barons in the exercise of this right. Nor was it until the reign of Charles VI., in the beginning of the fifteenth century, that this vestige of a barbarous age was entirely removed.

The democratic feature in the system of legislation, as late as the ninth century, is perhaps the most remarkable in the administration of the government. This is, undoubtedly, to be referred to a German origin. Even in the energetic reign of Charlemagne this appears to have been engrafted in the constitution of the empire. Charles the Bald, the grandson of that monarch, declared that "a law is made by the people's consent and the king's enactment." In the tenth century, "the kingdom," says Hallam, "was as a great fief, or rather as a bundle of fiefs, and the king little more than one of a number of feudal nobles, differing rather in dignity than in power from some of the rest."

From this period we discover the aristocratic feature prominently marked in the legislative acts of the government. The "*Lex consensu Populi*" was substituted by the "*consultatio et sententia fidelium nostrorum*." "The royal council was composed of barons, or tenants in chief, prelates, and household officers. These now probably deliberated in private, as we hear no more of the consenting multitude." "This council advised the king in matters of government, confirmed and con-

sented to his grants, and judged in all civil and criminal cases, where any peers of their court were concerned. The great vassals of the crown acted for themselves in their own territories, with the assistance of councils similar to that of the king." As late as the middle of the thirteenth century it was well established that no law could be enforced within the territories of a baron but by his consent. (Hallam.)

During the periods to which we have referred, and whilst the system of jurisprudence continued imperfect and inefficient for regulating the civil affairs of the country, the ecclesiastical courts exercised a species of civil jurisdiction—a prerogative which the hierarchy of Rome was ever ready to usurp. Thus the Council of Toulouse, in 1229, "prohibited the erection of any new fortresses, or the entering into any leagues, except against the enemies of religion"—a measure which the king himself would not have undertaken by his own authority.

As the democratic principles in the administration of the government were supplanted by the influence of an aristocracy, we shall find this also yielding insensibly to the increasing powers of the crown. About the close of the thirteenth century, in the reign of Philip III., it was affirmed that, "when the king makes any ordinance especially for his own domains, the barons do not cease to act in their territories according to the ancient usage; but, when the ordinance is general, it ought to run through the whole kingdom, and we ought to believe that it is made with good advice, and for the common benefit." From which we are to understand, that at this period the acknowledgment of the royal prerogative proceeded rather from an acquiescence in what might be consistent with the public good, than from a fundamental law of the realm. It was afterward declared, however, that "the king is sovereign above all, and has of right the general custody of the realm, for which cause he may make what ordinances he pleases for the common good, and what he ordains ought to be observed; nor is there any one so great but may be drawn into the King's Court for default of right, or for false judgment, or in matters that affect the sovereign."

As early as the year 1254, in the reign of Louis IX., there seems to have been a species of Provincial Legislative Assembly, for regulating the export of merchandise, &c.: and this has

been considered as an evidence of the admission of the privileges of the Tiers-Etat as a constituent part of the legislative body. The character of that assembly however, as a popular representation, has been questioned. The partial enfranchisement of the bourgeois of the cities was conferred by Philip IV., in the beginning of the fourteenth century, when, in his controversy with Boniface VIII., he summoned representatives from the three orders in the kingdom. At this period is dated the origin of the States-General. Before this the kings could levy no taxes without the consent of the nobles. Then was introduced a counterpoise, which, as it diminished the influence of the aristocracy, proportionally elevated the privileges of the commons. From this period, 1302, there existed in France a National Assembly.

The States-General was composed of the nobles, the clergy, and the commons. The last class was termed the Tiers-Etat, or Third-Estate. The order of the clergy, however, was itself ennobled: the prelates and abbots being feudal lords, who enjoyed all the privileges and distinctions attached to the nobles of the realm. They exercised the same temporal jurisdiction, received homage from their vassals, were distinguished by titles, and not unfrequently performed military service. History informs us of an archbishop who fought valiantly, and was killed, at the battle of Agincourt.

This body was, for a time, a check upon the advance of the crown to supreme authority. In 1355 and 1356, it claimed the exclusive right "of levying and of regulating the collection of taxes." "Its decrees," says Madame De Stael, "were as much in the spirit of liberty as the Magna Charta of England." "From 1302," says the same writer, "the States-General had, in right, if not in fact, equal legislative powers with the English Parliament. But there was no provision for the annual convocation of this Assembly, and its separation into three orders, instead of into two chambers, gave the king much greater means of setting them in opposition to one another." This distinguished writer seems to have been in error as to the legislative character of that body, it being generally admitted that there was never vested in it a right of suffrage in the passing of laws.* In 1356

* Hallam's Middle Ages.

France was in a state of anarchy. John was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, and the administration of affairs necessarily devolved upon the only existing representative of the nation. Its assumptions were disregarded by the king after his restoration to the throne; and he, as well as his successor, Charles V., imposed taxes without its consent. This power was exercised by Charles VI. and VII., and indeed that Assembly was seldom convoked by them. Louis XI. outstripped his predecessors in the career of usurpations, and may be said to have removed every barrier between the throne and absolute despotism. During his reign, from 1461 to 1483, it was but twice convened. Thus do we find the feudal system gradually yielding to the accumulating powers of the throne.

The States-General assembled but eighteen times from 1302 to 1789; that is, during nearly five centuries. There was an interval of one hundred and seventy-five years, or from 1614, in the reign of Louis XIII., to 1789, in which it was not once convoked. (De Stael.)

Another remarkable feature in the government of France is exhibited in the Provincial Parliaments. These arose from the successive annexations to the crown of the great fiefs of the French monarchy. The administration of justice, and the security of their ancient immunities and privileges from the encroachments of the throne, were the objects of their institution. These courts of justice were established, respectively, at Toulouse, Grenoble, Bordeaux, Dijon, Besançon, Rouen, Aix, Pau, Rennes, Metz, Douay, and Nancy. The royal edicts were of no force until duly sanctioned by them, and registered. This privilege seems to have appertained to them as high courts of the feudal lords; which was exemplified by the reference made to the Parliament of Bordeaux, of an edict of the king of France, to determine whether "it interfered with the special rights and duties of the same sovereign as Duke of Guienne." It was well established, before the fifteenth century, that the registration of an edict in every province was essential to its validity. Hence it was that Charles V. sent two ambassadors to the Parliament of Toulouse, to ascertain if they had ratified his treaty with Francis I. "In former years," says a French writer of the seventeenth century, "the orders of the king were not received, or executed by the people, unless signed in the original by the

grandeers of the kingdom, the princes, and higher officers of the crown. This political jurisdiction has now devolved on the Parliaments." The proceedings of the Provincial Parliaments operated frequently as a check to the arbitrary acts of the monarchs. Remonstrances were, on extraordinary occasions, sent up from them to the throne, against abuses issuing from the throne. These were rendered nugatory, however, when Louis XIV. ordered that all edicts should be ratified and registered before any complaints would be received and answered by the king. When the Parliament delayed its ratification, it was not unusual for the king, attended by the chief officers of the court,* to attend in person, and ascending the throne, or *lit*, command the registration of his edicts; and this proceeding was hence termed—*Lit de Justice*.

The Royal Council, or Court of Peers, better known in history as the Parliament of Paris, was the great judicial tribunal of the French crown. This was anciently a convocation of the great vassals of the crown, which took cognizance of political as well as of judicial matters. Its origin has been traced to the close of the tenth century, in the reign of Hugh Capet. Councillors, of a rank inferior to the nobility, were introduced into it by St. Louis, in the middle of the thirteenth century. These were for the most part learned ecclesiastics. This was at first a moveable court, something of the nature of the *Aula Regia*, or Court of King's Bench, in England; in which the monarchs of that kingdom were accustomed to sit in person, and which followed them in their tour through the country. Philip the Fair, in 1304, made the capital the permanent seat of this tribunal: and, as the Parliament of Paris, it continued to be the chief tribunal of the country until the Revolution. From that period of its permanent location, it received a more systematic form. The great feudatories of the kingdom withdrew from it; and it was composed of lay and spiritual peers of France, as the representatives of the baronial aristocracy. As a high court of appeal, it received, in 1371, a remonstrance from the nobility of Languedoc against a tax imposed by the king. At subsequent periods it

* Besides the Presidents and Counsellors of Parliament, there appeared, on these occasions of solemnity, the princes of the blood and the peers of the realm. (De Stael.)

assumed a political character, and decided the conflicts between contending factions. Under the absolute reign of Louis XI., that body was intrepid enough to refuse the registration of his repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, enacted by his father Charles VII. Its jurisdiction extended to both civil and criminal cases : and in the latter, as a "*chambre de la tournelle*," its adjudications were conclusive.

By a continued accession of territory, and encroachments on the privileges of the nobility and the rights of the people, the sovereigns of France, before the close of the fifteenth century,* were among the most powerful princes in Europe, and absolute monarchs within their dominion. The regal government, from an elective and a limited monarchy, had become an absolute despotism. In the language of an eminent jurist—"the king could imprison, dispatch, or exile, any man that was obnoxious to him, by an instant declaration that such was his will and pleasure." The king's will was the only fundamental principle known in the government. The judicial, legislative, and executive powers were concentrated in his person ; and his prerogatives were undefined, unlimited, and uncontrollable.

The Gallican Church boasts of certain immunities and privileges which it enjoys independent of the Roman Hierarchy. These it claims, as having been secured to it at an early period of its history. The first efforts, of which we have any authentic records, of resistance against Papal encroachments, have been referred to the edict of St. Louis about the middle of the thirteenth century. It is, however, certain that the Popes continued to dispose of benefices, after this period, in manifest violation of the spiritual rights of the prelates. The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, enacted by Charles VII. in 1438, which that Church cherishes as the Magna Charta of its liberties, was repealed in the subsequent reign by Louis XI. ; but as that revocation was never ratified and registered by the Parliament of Paris, it has been considered as virtually in force. On the other hand, the States-General, convened at Tours in 1484, refused, from the timidity of the prelates in that assembly, and the bigotry of the Queen Regent, to confirm the original edict of Charles. The Pragma-

* Charles VII., by a standing army, called *companies of ordonnance*, established in 1445, obtained an entire control over the great vassals of the crown.

tic Sanction declared that a general council was superior to the Pope; it secured the free election of bishops, and abolished mandates, and reservation of benefices, and first-fruits. The twenty-three articles it contains were transcripts from the decrees of the Council of Basil. As Louis discovered that he had been deluded by the Bishop of Arras, who was bribed by the Pope with a cardinal's hat, and promises of a rich reward, to use his influence with the king, he never enforced his repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges: so that it remained of force until the reign of Francis I. This then is the basis of the liberties which the Gallican Church has ever since maintained. That decree declares "That the Pope has no power, for any cause whatsoever, to dispense with the law of God, the law of nature, or the decrees of the ancient canons"—"that the Gallican Church does not receive, without distinction, all the canons, and all the decretal epistles, but keeps principally to that ancient collection called '*corpus canonicum*,' the same which Pope Adrian sent to Charlemagne towards the end of the eighth century, and which in the year 860, under the pontificate of Nicolas I., the French bishops declared to be the only canon law they were obliged to acknowledge; maintaining that, in this body, the liberties of the Gallican Church consisted"—"that the Pope is not superior to a general council"—"that the Pope has no authority to depose the king, or grant away his dominions to any person whatever"—that his Holiness can neither excommunicate the king, nor absolve his subjects from their allegiance"—"that the prelates of the Gallican Church, being summoned by the Pope, cannot depart the realm upon any pretence whatever,

* The Papal Church, encouraged by the accession of power which it had acquired, made extraordinary efforts in the ninth century to establish the supremacy of the Roman Hierarchy on the firmest basis. Hence it was an age of forged conventions, acts of councils, decretal epistles, &c. The French bishops denied the authenticity and authority of these forged records. At a council in Paris, 824, they confirmed the decrees of the Council of Frankfort, which condemned the worship of images, and rejected the epistle of Adrian in favor of idolatrous worship; declaring that it "contained absurd and erroneous opinions." They also denied the authority of the second Ecumenical Council of Nice, held in 787. They were not, however, denounced as heretics for their contumacy by the Court of Rome. The Papal decrees were not then considered obligatory, or infallible, and have never been so received by the Gallican Church.

without the king's permission"—"that the legate of the Pope cannot exercise his commission in any of the king's dominions, till after he has obtained his majesty's leave for that purpose"—"that the king may punish his ecclesiastical officers for misbehavior in their respective charges, notwithstanding the privilege of their Orders"—"that the regulations of the Apostolic Chamber or Court, are not obligatory to the Gallican Church, unless confirmed by the king's edicts"—"that the Pope cannot grant a license to ecclesiastics to alienate church lands, situate and lying in France, without the king's consent, upon any pretence whatever"—"that the Pope has no authority to excommunicate the king's officers, for their executing and discharging their respective offices and functions," &c.

Such was the character of some of the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VII., in the year 1498, to limit and restrain the jurisdiction, in France, of the Court of Rome. From which it is evident that the spiritual jurisdiction of the Popes was defined by those canon laws only which were received and acknowledged by the kingdom of France. The Papal bulls could not be enforced but by the consent of the king; and the greater part of the *Sect* and *Clementines* were moreover rejected by the Gallican Church. The kings were bound by their coronation oath to maintain the articles of this "*Sanction*" inviolate. The Popes were impatient under the restraints imposed upon their usurped prerogatives, and repeated efforts were made by them to effect a repeal of this ordinance. Its denial of an authority in the Pope "to levy any taxes or imposition upon the temporalities of the ecclesiastical preferments, upon any pretence, either of loan, vacancy, annats, tithes, procurations, or otherwise, without the king's order and the consent of the clergy," deprived the pontiffs of rich sources of revenue; and this feature in the statute was as odious to their Holinesses, as its restraints upon their power were vexatious.

It is not a little remarkable, that Papal France, bigoted as it has always been in points of faith and ceremonial observances, and cruel as its government and church have always been in the persecution of heresies, made the earliest efforts to obtain a spiritual emancipation from the tyranny of Rome. This was exhibited by the proceedings of the Parliament of Paris as early as the year 1304: and in 1329, the advocate-general of Philip

VI. boldly exclaimed in that assembly against the Papal usurpations. In that century, "ecclesiastical cognizance of adultery, of the execution of testaments, and of other causes, which had been claimed by the Popish clergy, was taken away by that Parliament:" and about the beginning of the sixteenth century it was well established, that appeals might be carried up to that body from the Spiritual or Episcopal Courts, on the ground of abuse, or "transgressing the canonical rules by which they should be governed."

In 1516, Pope Leo X., succeeded in persuading Francis I. to abrogate the ordinance of Charles VII., and by a concordate the right of nominating to bishoprics and benefices of the higher class was vested in the king, and the annates, or first-fruits, were restored to the pontiff.* Thus were the privileges of the Church divided between them. This compact was unacceptable to the Gallican Church and to the nation at large. The Parliament of Paris opposed its reception, and refused to sanction it by a registration, until compelled by a regal mandate, which they complied with; but protested against its injustice, and appealed from the Pope to a general council. The university and the clergy united with the Parliament in their opposition to a measure, which wrested from the Gallican Church its ancient privileges, and introduced into the nation the oppressions and abuses of Papal avarice and rapacity. The States of Orleans, however, in 1560, restored to the chapters the election of the bishops; and the Pragmatic Sanction was still maintained to be the basis of ecclesiastical law in France. By the "four propositions" published by the French clergy in the year 1682, this ordinance was again confirmed; and it was then affirmed "that the Pope has no temporal, but only spiritual right, as the vicegerent of Christ"—"that even these are limited by canons and councils," and "that the decrees of the Holy See are subject to reversal upon the decision of the clergy in general." Such was the language of the French clergy in an Assembly convoked in Paris by Louis XIV., as drawn up by the celebrated Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux.†

* Not expressed in the concordate, but assumed constructively by the pontiff, and exercised under the authority of a Papal bull.

† This arose from a controversy between Louis XIV. and Innocent XI., on the subject of the *Regale*, which vested in the King the inferior preferments of

The concordate between Buonaparte and Pope Pius VII. in 1801, by which the Popish religion was re-established in France, was based upon the principles contained in the Pragmatic Sanction of 1438. By another concordate, in 1817, concluded at Rome, between Louis XVIII. and Pius VII., that of 1516 was again revived. But the unsuppressed disapprobation of the nation compelled the government to abandon that measure. Buonaparte was friendly to religious toleration; and Pius assented to a compact by which the dearest interests of the Roman Hierarchy were sacrificed. On the restoration of the Bourbons, the Popish spirit of intolerance again obtained the ascendancy; and not only the liberties of the Gallican Church were prostrated, but the "measures against the prevailing obstacles to religion and the laws of the church," which was the ominous language of the tenth article of the Concordate of 1817, presaged the returning era of bigotry and the cruel persecution of Protestantism. The Gallican Church, in this century, still adheres to the principles of the Pragmatic Sanction of 1438.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, Germany may be said to have been composed of a confederacy of dukedoms. At the head of these were the Houses of Saxony, Franconia, and Suabia. The empire was transmitted through these families, from the beginning of the tenth century, in the person of Henry I. surnamed the Fowler, to Conrad IV., of the House of Suabia, who died in 1254. Otho IV.—a lineal descendant of Charles the Bald—who succeeded to the empire in 1208, interrupted the line of succession. The male line of the Franconian emperors became extinct by the death of Henry V. in 1125; and that of Suabia in 1254, by the death of Conrad IV. Of the ancient duchies, Bavaria and Saxony only remained. (Lavoisne.)

After the death of Conrad, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, son of John, King of England, succeeded to the empire. Alphonso X. King of Castille, who was chosen by a part of the electors at the same time with Richard, was detained in Spain by his wars

a diocese, vacant by the death of the Bishop. In the year 1831, the Abbé Chatel founded a new Gallican Church, of which he styled himself the Primate. "It denies the infallibility of the Pope, and of Councils, rejects the celibacy of priests, leaves confession voluntary, and enjoins the performance of service in the mother tongue."

against the Moors, and never appeared in Germany to claim the imperial throne. Anarchy and confusion prevailed in the empire from 1256 to 1273, when Rodolph of Hapsburg, the head of the ancient House of Austria was elected. He was succeeded by Adolphus I. of the House of Nassau. After his death, in 1298, Albert, the son of Rodolph, was elected emperor. Henry VII., of the family of Luxemburg; Frederick III., son of Albert; Louis V., of the House of Bavaria; Charles IV., grandson of Henry; his son, Wincelas; Robert of Bavaria; Sigismund, brother of Wincelas; severally succeeded to the throne. Albert II., descendant of Rodolph, through five generations, ascended the throne in 1438. After him Frederick IV.,* a collateral branch of the same family, succeeded. His son, Maximilian I., reigned from 1493 to 1519. (Rotteck.)

From the period of the extinction of the House of Suabia, the elections were not confined to the immediate branches of the reigning family, as they had been for nearly three centuries previously. The Franconian and Suabian emperors were descendants of Otho, the ancestor of the Saxon line. From the middle of the thirteenth century, there was less of the hereditary feature in the succession, until the accession of Frederick IV. in 1440. Since that period the elections invariably elevated to the throne an emperor of the Austrian family, with the exception of Charles VII. of Bavaria in 1740. After his death the imperial crown was conferred on Francis V., Duke of Lorrain, who had married Maria Theresa, daughter of Charles VI., and with him commenced the reign of what has been termed the Modern House of Austria. From him the succession was uninterrupted to his grandson, Francis II., who, foreseeing the ruin of the German Constitution by the conquests of Buonaparte, caused himself to be proclaimed hereditary emperor of Austria in 1804. Francis, on the 6th of August, 1806, formally resigned the title of Emperor of Germany.

In the progress of the political revolutions which continually changed the characters of the governments in Europe, the great duchies of which the German empire was composed in the tenth,

* He is generally mentioned in history as Frederick III. Frederick Barbarossa, his grandson Frederick, and Frederick son of Albert V., preceded Frederick, the father of Maximilian I.

eleventh and succeeding centuries, insensibly submitted to the changes of time. Some of them ceased to exist; and others were diminished by subdivisions of their territories and the curtailment of the ducal prerogatives. There arose a class of princes, and of untitled nobility, whose privileges were a counterpoise to the powers of the dukes within their respective dominions. Even as feudatories they did not acknowledge that fealty to their ducal lords which, according to the tenure by which they held their lands, might be supposed to have been obligatory. These princes were themselves the superiors of the lower class of nobles; and in many respects were equal in dignity and possessions with the dukes: as were the Houses of Austria, of Brunswick, of Hesse. In the reign of Conrad II. of Franconia, the princes of Suabia refused to do military service under their duke against the emperor. They were entitled to seats in the Diets of the empire; and their principalities in time became miniature resemblances of the whole empire. The system of partition, so peculiar to Germany, by which the inheritance was divided among all the children, without regard to the rule of primogeniture, gave rise to innumerable and independent principalities, which, at the present time, forms a remarkable feature in the government of that portion of Europe. These were rendered more permanent by a regulation which secured a fief from reverting to the empire whilst any of the male posterity of the first feudatory remained. At the close of the sixteenth century there were eight reigning princes, of the elder branch of the electoral House of Bavaria, known as the Palatine;* and in the seventeenth century there were fourteen of the Saxon line. (Hallam.)

Of a rank subordinate to these princes, but distinguished by the title of count, or landgrave, arose in the twelfth century another order of nobles. They were of an intermediate order: between the princes and the untitled nobility, who were their vassals. They assumed the title of *land-graf*, or count of the whole coun-

* This term is of feudal origin. The *comes palatii* was an officer in the court of the sovereign. As the earl of a county, or seignior, all the rights of sovereignty in judicial matters appertained to him. Durham and Lancaster were two counties palatine in England, entitled to their *jura regalia*. Two States in Germany were distinguished as the upper and the lower palatinate—but under the jurisdiction of one prince. They were obliterated by the French Revolution and the wars which sprung out of it.

try. The Landgraves of Thuringia, of Lower and of Upper Alsace, became afterward princes of the empire.

The enfranchisement of cities may be dated from the reign of Henry I., surnamed the Fowler, or in the beginning of the tenth century. This, in time, formed a remarkable trait in the government of Germany; and these privileged communities acted an important part in the political events which occurred at subsequent periods in the several States of Europe, and particularly in the German empire. Some of the enfranchised cities were under the jurisdiction of bishops, who exercised over them a species of temporal as well as an ecclesiastical authority; others were subject to the princes within whose territories they were situated. As early as the year 1182, the charter granted to the city of Spire by Frederick Barbarossa, prohibited the bishop, or any other, from interfering in the adjudication of causes in litigation within the city. By the accumulation of wealth, and the increase of population, they eventually constituted a distinct order in the government of the empire, and became, through their deputies, a constituent part of the Imperial Diet. This is distinctly stated in the beginning of the fourteenth century: and again, in the year 1344, in the reign of Louis V., they are mentioned as a third college in the Diet. Their deputies, with the electors and princes, constituted this national assembly.

Many of the larger cities extended their territorial limits, either by purchase or by force, far beyond their original corporate jurisdiction, and these were governed by them as by the landlords or princes of the empire. Hence it was that before the reign of Rodolph, the internal tranquillity of the country was incessantly disturbed by the conflicts between the noblemen in the fortified castles, and the inhabitants of fortified cities. At that period their power and importance were so fully acknowledged, that the emperor, after his accession to the throne, and even in the last year of his reign, renewed his oath with them, as he did with the princes and lords. The vassals of those feudal lords when oppressed sought protection in the cities; and, settling between the walls and the palisades which bounded the territory, received the appellation of *pfahlburgers*, or burgesses of the palisades. (Hallam.)

The warfare which was thus carried on between the cities and the proprietors of fortified castles, dictated to the forme

the policy of uniting for their mutual safety ; and about the middle of the thirteenth century more than sixty cities, with three ecclesiastical electors at their head, formed the league of the Rhine. Towards the close of the fourteenth century the cities of Suabia and the Rhine again confederated against the princes of Wurtemberg and Bavaria. The celebrated Hanseatic League, whose earliest date some writers have ascribed to the year 1169, others to the year 1200, was certainly systematized as early as the year 1245. This was an association of cities in Northern Germany, not only for mutual defence, but more particularly for commercial purposes. It comprehended, at one time, not less than eighty-five cities. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it became a self-constituted sovereign power, and exercised all the attributes of sovereignty, by carrying on war, or maintaining peace, independent of, and often in opposition to, the governments of Europe.

But another feature in this loose system of government in Germany, was a species of limited monarchy in the several principalities of the empire. Each may be said to have been, in certain respects, an independent State. No tax could be imposed without their consent. Another defect in the Germanic Constitution, was the want of a competent tribunal for the administration of justice : for the maintenance of private rights, and the suppression of public wrongs. Frederick II. attempted to remedy this in a Diet at Mentz, in 1235. Rodolph, Sigismund, and Frederick IV., each endeavored to revive the judicatory established by Frederick at Mentz. Albert II. had attempted to accomplish the desired end, by dividing Germany into six circles, each to be regulated by its own Diet : but there was no efficient power in the empire to control the States when refractory or disobedient. Such was the defective constitution of Germany when Maximilian ascended the throne in 1493.*

* The noble efforts of Charles VII. of France to secure the liberties of the Gallican Church, incited the Germans to measures of protection against the usurpations of the Papal See. In a Diet at Mayence, in 1439, the Estates adopted many of the Decrees of the Council of Basil. That which established the supremacy of the Councils above the Popes, and another which enjoined the Pope to determine, immediately, all appeals to the Court of Rome, by commissioners appointed by him at the time and place of trial, have remained in full force. By a concordate with Nicholas V., in 1448, several of the reserves which

By the "*Perpetual Public Peace*," drawn up at Worms in 1495, the disputes which might arise between the members of the Germanic Empire were referable to regular courts of justice. The Imperial Chamber, which was established by the Diet for this purpose, consisted of a Chief Judge and sixteen assessors, chosen from among the jurists and independent nobility. These were appointed by the Emperor with the consent of the Diet. As originally constituted, however, this tribunal had only an appellate jurisdiction; nor was it invested with the necessary powers for the enforcement of its decrees. To remedy these defects, at a Diet in 1501 the empire was divided into six circles; and at another, convened at Cologne in 1512, the Austrian, Burgundian, and Electoral countries were included—and with these, ten circles were formed. Each circle was required to send its representatives to the Imperial Chamber, and to execute the sentence of the Chamber, within its limits, against refractory states of the empire. Over each of these circles were placed princes, directors, and colonels, whose duty it was to superintend and command the troops of their respective districts. A regency also was appointed, composed of twenty members, over whom the emperor presided, to supply the place of the Diet in the intervals of its sessions. This was the *Aulic Council*. This judicial tribunal had a concurrent jurisdiction in all cases with the Imperial Chamber; and in some cases, an exclusive one—particularly in those which concerned the Imperial government. At a later period, six of the eighteen councillors, who with a president and vice president constituted this high judicatory, were Protestants. This privilege was secured to them, that, if they were unanimous, their votes could not be overruled by those of the Papists. This council was under the political control of the Austrian government, and was convened at Vienna.

The Diet was divided into three chambers—that of the Electors*—that of the Sovereign Princes, which consisted of

had been wrested from the pontiffs were restored to them; and they were allowed to retain the right of confirming the prelates, and of enjoying the *annats*, &c.

* To the seven original electors were added, in 1692, the Dukes of Brunswick Luneburg, who were entitled Electors of Hanover, and at different periods afterward, the Princes of Salzburg, of Wurtemberg, of Baden, and of Hesse-Cassel. In 1806, the title of Elector was merged in that of King, Grand Duke, &c. The sovereign of Hesse-Cassel alone retains the title of Elector.

two spiritual and four temporal benches—and that of the Imperial Cities, composed of the Rhenish and the Saxon benches. The Diet, therefore, represented the members of the empire; the executive powers were vested in the emperor; and the two judiciary tribunals decided all cases in controversy brought up for their adjudication. All general laws were proposed to the Diet by the emperor before they could be deliberated on—and his final assent was required. (Tytler.)

The Constitution of the empire received its last amendment by the Treaty of Westphalia, in 1648—when the prerogatives of the emperor, and the rights of the States were more clearly defined. The general peace, and the independence of the several princes, by which they might be protected in their respective sovereign powers, seem to have been the only objects intended to be accomplished by these fundamental laws. Each State was supposed to have had an ample jurisdiction over the persons and property of its citizens: the rights of individuals, as subjects, were not in the contemplation of the Diet. The history of this century, and but a short time after the adoption of this Constitution, shows how inefficient were its provisions for securing the public peace. With a view of giving to these fundamental laws a higher sanction, the custom of *Imperial capitulations* (termed the *wahl*, or election, capitulation) was introduced at the time of the accession of Charles V. in 1519. This was an oath tendered by the electors to the newly-elected emperor at his coronation; and was considered as a solemn compact between the parties. This precaution was first suggested by the elevation to the Imperial throne of a prince invested with such formidable powers as was Charles when elected to the succession.

The civil wars in England, occasioned by the conflicting claims to the throne of the rival families of York and Lancaster, commenced in 1453, and terminated in 1485, by the defeat of Richard III., better known as the Duke of Gloucester. Henry VII., the victor in the field of Bosworth, ascended the English throne—in his own right, as the fourth in descent from John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and in that of his projected marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. of the house of York. He reigned from 1485 to 1509.

With Richard ended the Plantagenet dynasty, which had governed England from the time of the accession of Henry II.,

in 1154, or for a period of three hundred and thirty-one years. Henry VII. was a collateral branch of the same family ; but, descended more directly from Owen Tudor, he is considered as the head of the reigning Tudor family.

Whatever may have been the character of the government of England before the Norman conquest, it is certain that the crown has descended through the royal line, from William to the present time. Even from Egbert the Great, who began his reign in Wessex and Sussex in 800, the succession was interrupted but for a short time by the Danish invasion ; and returned after the death of Hardicanute, in 1042, to Edward the Confessor, the remaining representative of the Saxon family. William the Conqueror, on the demise of Edward, claimed the crown under a real or pretended bequest by him ; and made good his pretensions by the sword. It is maintained, however, that "the crown of England was always elective, not only before but after the accession of William : and even at the present day the form is retained, although the destruction of all substantial royal prerogative and power renders the actual exercise of the constitutional elective right a matter of no importance." (Keightley.)

The monarchy under William was undoubtedly absolute. This necessarily arose from the circumstances under which he acquired the throne. But tracing the constitutional history of that kingdom through the successive periods which intervened from the Conquest to the sixteenth century, we meet with repeated and successful efforts to limit the prerogatives of the crown, and to enlarge and secure the liberties of the subjects. The aristocracy in England was of a different character from that in France. The nobles were not sufficiently powerful, by vast domains, to resist singly the power of the throne. It was not only necessary for them to combine in checking its usurpations, but their measures of resistance were ineffectual without the co-operation of the people. Hence it was, that the rights of this third party were extended and better secured by every conflict between the barons and the kings. In each successive age the regal powers were gradually restricted and defined, and popular freedom enlarged. Such were the results of the famous Magna Charta in the reign of John, and of the Statutes of Oxford in that of Henry III. It is true that upon these the principles, rather than the practice, of democratical rights were engrafted ;

and that, although the kings were restrained, few of the benefits inured immediately to the people. The diminution of the royal prerogatives elevated the rank and privileges of the nobility; but the concessions of the crown formed the basis of whatever there is of popular rights in the government.

The circumstances under which Henry VII. ascended the throne—avowedly as a rightful heir, but really as a conqueror—gave a new character to the prerogatives of the crown. A destructive civil war had for more than thirty years desolated the kingdom. Nearly all the princes of the House of York, as well as those of the House of Lancaster, were destroyed; by whose influence alone the encroachments and usurpation of the king could be checked. The people, exhausted by the protracted struggles of the two parties, were disposed to endure existing evils rather than resort to arms under an uncertainty of the issue of another conflict. Those introduced into the high and honorable offices in the government were bound by interest to sustain the king in all his measures. With these influences operating in his favor, Henry early distinguished his administration by arbitrary acts, and assumptions of power. The secret disaffection of the adherents to the House of York required vigilance and decision of conduct to avert renewed hostilities. The revolt in Ireland, insurrections in the North, the intrigues of foreign courts, and the pretensions of false claimants to the throne, demanded the exercise of powers which would have been uncalled for, and could not have been justified, under a peaceful and undisputed possession of the throne. The Court of Star Chamber, founded on common law, was invested by Parliament with new prerogatives—having important criminal jurisdiction, extending chiefly to State offences, and misdemeanors of a public character. This court became soon after a formidable engine of oppression; and was finally abolished in the 16th year of Charles I. Under these adventitious circumstances the power of the crown became absolute; and this reign has therefore been considered as an epoch in the constitution of England. (Blackstone.)

During the three centuries and a half when the Plantagenets occupied the English throne, the securities of civil liberty were continually increased; but on the accession of the House of Tudor, the powers of the crown became supreme: and when Henry VIII. ascended the throne, in 1509, with popular prepos-

essions in his favor, he was enabled to exercise those high and undefined prerogatives without restraint, which his father had usurped against the will of the nation. "So that the English in that age," as the historian Hume has remarked, "were so thoroughly subdued, that, like eastern slaves, they were inclined to admire those acts of violence and tyranny which were exercised over themselves and at their own expense."

The country now known as Spain was formerly divided into many distinct sovereignties, which assumed the title of kingdoms. The most important of these were Arragon, Castille, Leon, and Navarre. The fairest portion of this peninsula being under subjection to the Moors as early as the eighth century, policy suggested to the Christian princes, who occupied the more northern provinces, in the beginning of the eleventh century, and were gradually enlarging their respective dominions, the erection of chartered cities. Thus was the city of Leon, at the foot of the Cantabrian mountains, invested with chartered privileges by Alphonso V., in the year 1020. These immunities were conferred in Spain at a much earlier period than they were either in England or France. The cities or municipalities, forming, as it were, separate communities, but subject to the laws of their respective kingdoms, and having extensive territories included within their franchises, served as barriers against the encroachments of their Mohammedan neighbors. About the middle of the twelfth century, the deputies from these chartered cities became component parts of the Cortes, or National Councils. This was probably the most remarkable feature in the constitution of the ancient kingdoms of Spain.

Those petty monarchies were elective, although, as in France and England, the succession to the throne customarily followed the line of descent in the reigning families. This principle was so clearly established, that it was usual to elect a son in the lifetime of the father. About the eleventh century the right of succession became hereditary.

All civil and ecclesiastical affairs were directed by a national assembly, consisting of the nobility and highest order of the clergy. The deputies of the privileged cities are first mentioned in the year 1169 as members of the council. The constitutional right of the prelates to seats in the Cortes is well established as late as 1295; as exhibited in a protest of the Archbishop of To-

ledo against acts of the council, on the ground that neither he nor the other prelates were present. In 1406 the nobility and clergy are mentioned as deliberating separately.

The Cortes claimed the exclusive control over the levying and the collection of taxes: with this restriction only—that the lands of the nobility and clergy were exempt from taxation. The incorporated towns, by the terms of their charters, were obliged, not only to render military service, but to contribute to the public treasury. This exclusive control over the subject of taxation appears to have been clearly recognized, and acquiesced in by the kings; as we read of Ferdinand IV., in 1307, “promising to raise no money beyond his legal and customary dues.” But this is more explicitly determined by a law enacted in 1328 by Alphonso XI.; who thereby bound himself, “not to exact from his people, or cause them to pay any tax, either partial or general, not hitherto established by law, without the previous grant of all the deputies convened to the Cortes.” It was with equal force confirmed by a declaration of the Cortes in 1393, in the reign of Henry III.; and again in 1420, when John II. had infringed this right, in which they affirmed “that no taxes or requisitions, or other new tribute, shall be paid by the cities and towns in the kingdom, but by advice, and with the grant of the said cities and towns, and of their deputies for them.” Henry IV. was distinguished for his riches; and the abuses under his government called forth, in 1465, similar remonstrances from the Cortes. This continued to be an established principle in the fundamental laws of Spain, as thus recognized by the kings of Castille. It was adhered to by Ferdinand, who united, by his marriage with Isabella, the kingdoms of Arragon and Castille. It was acquiesced in by Charles, his grandson and successor. Philip II., who stands prominent in history for his tyranny and ambition, was courageously opposed by the Cortes in his violations of a law, which they declared “so ancient and just, and which so long time has been used and observed.” (Hallam.)

The Cortes was the great legislative council of the nation; and it is laid down as a fundamental principle, that “laws could neither be made nor annulled except in that council.” John II., the father of Isabella, gave the first example of disregarding this ancient statute of the kingdom. Charles I. repeated the violation; and Philip II. in this, as in every other wise provision of

the constitution of his country, abolished all restrictions upon his exercise of arbitrary power; and in 1555 made this reply to a petition "that laws made in Cortes should be revoked no where else:" "We shall do what best suits our government."

Agreeably to ancient custom, the Cortes confirmed the succession to the throne; and as late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, they exercised a control over the regency during the minority of the reigning sovereign. In the turbulent and unsettled reign of Henry IV., or in 1469, they boldly affirmed, that, "according to the laws of the kingdom, when the kings have any thing of great importance on hand, they ought not to undertake it without the advice and knowledge of the chief towns and cities of the kingdom." In the reign of Charles they assumed a right of interference with the acts of the king; and remonstrated against his permitting his son Philip to depart out of the realm. From the commencement of the sixteenth century we may date the entire supremacy of the king over the ancient constitution and laws of that country.

Sancho III., surnamed the Great, may be considered as the founder of the Spanish monarchy. His reign commenced in the year 1000. He assumed the title of Emperor of Spain. His eldest son, Garcias, succeeded to the kingdom of Navarre; his second son, Ferdinand, to that of Castille and Leon; and his third son, Ramirez, to that of Arragon. It is not my purpose, however, to trace the successive changes which occurred during the period of five hundred years which intervened between the beginning of the eleventh and that of the sixteenth century.

The male line of the ancient house of Arragon became extinct in 1410, by the death of Martin. Ferdinand I. succeeded by right of his mother, sister of Martin, who had married John I., King of Castille and Leon. Ferdinand II., surnamed the Catholic, grandson of Ferdinand I., succeeded to the throne of Arragon in 1479. By his marriage with Isabella, Queen of Castille and Leon, those two kingdoms were united. In 1492 he destroyed the kingdom of the Moors, and annexed Grenada to his dominions. In 1503 he expelled the French from Naples. In 1512 he wrested from John of Albret, who had married Catharine, Queen of Navarre, all his possessions south of the Pyrenees; and assumed the title of King of Spain. He reigned from 1479 to 1516. (Lavoisne.)

The crown of Navarre, having been the patrimony of the daughters as well as the sons, devolved repeatedly on foreigners, particularly on those of the French nobility, and sometimes of the royal family. By the marriage of John of Albret, Bearn, a province in France, north of the Pyrenees, became united with Navarre. The latter comprised but a small extent of territory, after the forcible possession by Ferdinand II. of that portion of the ancient domain south of the Pyrenean mountains. Henry II., son of John and Catharine, married Margaret, the sister of Francis I., of France, in 1527. Their daughter, Jane of Albret, married Anthony, Duke of Vendôme, of the Bourbon family, in 1548. Henry III., mentioned in history, as the Prince of Bearn, succeeded his mother in Navarre in 1572; and ascended the throne of France, as Henry IV., in 1589. After his accession, Navarre ceased to be an independent kingdom; and the title of "King of Navarre" was united with that of "King of France."

Having briefly sketched the political relations of the leading nations in Europe as they existed at the commencement of the sixteenth century; from this digression we will pursue the history of the Reformation.

CHAPTER II.

IN the year 1492, Roderick Borgia obtained by intrigue and bribery the pontifical chair. "Four mules, laden with silver, were publicly driven into the palace of Sforza, the most influential of the cardinals. Borgia became Pope under the name of Alexander VI., and rejoiced in the attainment of the pinnacle of pleasures." This abandoned profligate and sanguinary tyrant filled the measure of Popish iniquities, and seems to have been elevated by Providence to this high eminence in the Church, as an impersonation of the vices and wickedness of a corrupt hierarchy. In him we behold an epitome of all the crimes which had distinguished and disgraced his unworthy predecessors. Debauched in his morals, cruel and vindictive in his passions, destitute of every religious principle, and avaricious of wealth, that he might procure the means of gratifying his ambition and of ministering to his licentious indulgences, his career was marked by a continued series of atrocities, of intrigues, and cold-blooded assassinations. "The spot on earth where all iniquity met and overflowed was the pontiff's seat." Such was the character of the man who occupied the Apostolic Chair in the beginning of the sixteenth century.*

Alexander was no sooner exalted to the chair of St. Peter, than his attention was directed to the aggrandizement of his illegitimate offspring, and the enlargement of his papal domains. His son Cæsar was appointed Archbishop of Valencia and Bishop of Pampeluna; and, through the intrigues of his father

* Angelus Politianus thus addressed this profligate Pope: "We rejoice to see you raised above all human things, and exalted even to divinity itself, seeing there is nothing, except God, which is not put under you."

with Louis XII., he received the investiture of the duchy of Valentinois, and the promise of his marriage with the king of Navarre's sister. The duchy of Benevento was obtained by the midnight murder of the reigning duke. Four sons and a daughter, the fruits of his licentious intercourse, were the objects of his paternal solicitude; and their promotion to wealth and honors was effected by the commission of the most diabolical deeds. Neither the claims of justice nor the dictates of humanity presented any obstacles in the accomplishment of his nefarious designs. With the view of extending the patrimony of St. Peter, he became involved in the labyrinth of European politics.

Charles VIII., the reigning sovereign of France, was invited by Alexander to attempt the conquest of Naples. Many of the Italian territories had been wrested from the Roman Hierarchy during the residence of the Popes at Avignon. The French army entered Italy; and by the decisive victory in the battle of Monte Cassino, Charles was flattered that his ambitious views were attained. The Pope, alarmed by the rapidity of his conquests, procured an alliance against him of many of the Italian States, the Emperor Maximilian, and Ferdinand of Spain. Thus betrayed, Charles, incensed against his Holiness, marched with his army to Rome, and reduced him to submission.* Having devoutly kissed his foot,* the French king was compelled to retreat with precipitancy to his own dominions.

Louis XII., the successor of Charles, entertained the same ambitious designs against Italy, and won the sanction of Alexander by investing his son Cæsar with the Duchy of Valentinois. Strengthened by this alliance, the king crossed the Alps, and in a short time reduced to subjection the cities of Milan and Genoa. But he was destined to be defeated by that treacherous ally who had thwarted the projects of his predecessor. Alexander preferred to divide the fruits of victory with Ferdi-

* There is usually embroidered on the slipper of the Pope a sign of the cross. This is to soften the fastidiousness of those who might revolt at the humiliating ceremony of kissing the foot of their ghostly Father. The cross, and not the foot, is thus made the apparent object of this eastern servility and idolatrous worship; a servility against which the degraded spirit of a slave would naturally revolt.

nand the Catholic; and Louis, discomfited by the military prowess of the Spanish General, Gonsalvo de Cordova, was eventually driven out of Italy, and lost his share of the kingdom of Naples.

The result of these secret intrigues of the Papal Court, and the decisive checks which were given to the triumphant progress of the French monarchy by the coalition of foreign powers, introduced a new system of politics in Europe—that of a balance of power; and from this period has been dated the commencement of those secret leagues which have ever since controlled the political movements of the European nations. To the duplicity and cunning of Alexander the world is undoubtedly indebted for that tissue of intrigues and counterplots which are indissolubly interwoven in the secret machinations of the courts of Europe. It is truly characteristic of Italian Popery.

This monster of iniquity, the worthy representative of a Nero or a Caligula, died in the year 1503, by a poisonous draught which he had prepared for another, and was succeeded by Pope Pius III. He died within a month after his elevation, and Julian de la Rovere was placed in the Apostolic succession, with the title of Julius II. It was said of this spiritual Father, that soon after his coronation he threw the keys of St. Peter into the Tiber, and brandished his sword.

“To the odious list of vices,” says Mosheim, “with which Julius II. dishonored the pontificate, we may add the most savage ferocity, the most audacious arrogance, the most despotic vehemence of temper, and the most extravagant and phrenetic passion for war and bloodshed. His whole pontificate was one continued scene of military tumult; nor did he suffer Europe to enjoy a moment’s tranquillity as long as he lived. We may easily imagine the miserable condition of the Church under a Vicar of Christ who lived in camps, amidst the din of arms; and who was ambitious of no other fame than that which arose from battles won and cities laid desolate.”

The increasing strength and commercial prosperity of the commonwealth of Venice, excited the fears, if not the envy, of the European powers. Papal Rome itself, from real or apprehended encroachments on the Ecclesiastical States, felt the danger of so formidable a neighbor; and Pope Julius, very soon after his accession, urged the system of equilibrium as the only safe-

guard against the preponderating influence of that republic. By a secret league at Cambray in 1508, the Empire, France and Spain, and afterwards England, confederated against Venice. This measure was effected by the intriguing genius of the Pope. The partition of its territories was the great incentive of this formidable coalition. Rimini and Faenza were claimed by Julius as appertaining to the patrimony of St. Peter, under the rich donation of Mathilda, the Duchess of Tuscany, and the paramour of Gregory VII., at the close of the eleventh century.*

Venice was overpowered. The Pope regained his territories and was satisfied. Ferdinand obtained the Neapolitan ports. A treaty of peace and an alliance between the republic and the pontiff, saved the former from irretrievable ruin. The acquisitions of Louis were large; and he became, in turn, the object of Papal denunciation. The Holy League was formed in 1511, by the machinations of Julius; and to this Ferdinand, Maximilian, the Swiss, and the Venetians, acceded. Henry VIII., now on the throne of England, was allured by the sacred present of the Rose, perfumed with musk, and anointed with chrism, and the proffered title of "Most Christian King." These, with his natural hatred of the French, drew him into the coalition against Louis. The object was to deprive him of his Italian possessions. Julius, although seventy years of age, conducted the war in person. He engaged Turkish troops to assist him against the "Most Christian King,"† and so ardent was his zeal against his adversary, that at the siege of Mirandola he cheerfully endured the severities of the season, exposed himself at the trenches, and

* Parma and Placentia were also claimed by Julius as a part of the dowry of the famous Countess of Tuscany, who, in the excess of her amorous attachment to Gregory, was liberal in her donations to the Church. They were successively subject to the government of different sovereigns, until 1525, when, by a treaty, they were annexed to the Duchy of Milan, under Francis Sforza. They continued a part of the Ecclesiastical States until 1545, when Paul III. conferred them on his son, Peter Louis Farnese, to be held as fiefs of the Holy See. This new Duke of Parma, on account of his vices, and his dissolute and abandoned life, was assassinated in 1547. Philip II. of Spain restored the Duchy to Octavius Farnese, son of Peter Louis, in 1557.

† The King of France, Louis XI., was entitled "Most Christian Majesty," by Pope Paul II., in 1469.

led the van of the besieging forces through the breaches. Such were the aspirations of this ghostly Father after military glory. The French were finally expelled from Italy; and Navarre, south of the Pyrenees, was seized by Ferdinand, and united to the kingdom of Spain.

Louis was highly exasperated by the successful treachery of the pontiff, and resolved to check his insolent and overbearing conduct. He ordered a medal to be struck with this inscription: "*Perdam Babylonis Nomen*"—as a memorial of his determination. But notwithstanding the injuries and insults he had received from Julius, his superstitious reverence for the head of the Church restrained him from inflicting any personal violence when opportunities had offered. The pontiff saw the advantages he possessed over his adversary, and directed them with skillful management. A council was summoned at Pisa, "to set bounds to the tyranny of this furious pontiff, and to correct and reform the errors and corruptions of a superstitious Church." But the measures of this council were in the end abortive. A general council, which was the nineteenth, (5th of Lateran,) was assembled at Rome in 1512, by Julius. "He put Pisa under an interdict, and all the places which gave shelter to the schismatical council; he excommunicated the cardinals and prelates who attended it; he even pointed his spiritual thunder against the princes who adhered to it; he freed their subjects from all oaths of allegiance, and gave their dominions to every one who could take possession of them." But in the beginning of the following year Julius died, in the full career of his ambitious designs, and with his spirit of military glory burning in all the ardency of youthful fire. He left his adversary engaged in a war with England, which he had himself fomented, and which continued until August, 1514. Julius had however triumphed over his enemies. By the intrigues of the court of Rome, and the superstitious reverence of the Pope by the sovereigns of Europe, it was evident that a reformation of abuses under this spiritual domination was to be accomplished neither by the civil nor the ecclesiastical authority.

The corruption of the Romish clergy, and the oppressive tyranny of the pontiffs, were subjects of universal animadversion. The ecclesiastical orders themselves admitted the moral depravity into which the Church had sunk; and the people, every

where groaning under these evils, knew not from what source the redress of their grievances could proceed. Two general councils in the preceding century had undertaken the laudable effort to reform the Church in its head and members; but the intrigues and the spiritual power of the Popes had disappointed the general expectation. The Concordate of Aschaffenburg, between Martin V. and Frederick IV., (III.,) obtained through the cunning diplomacy of Æneas Sylvius, the Pope's Secretary, gave a legal validity to Papal extortions; and evinced the hopeless degradation of the German States. The bigoted Ferdinand, of Spain, riveted still stronger the chains of spiritual despotism by the establishment of the Inquisition in 1483. The Spanish grandees became familiars of this abominable Institution; and the dreadful Autos da fé silenced even the whispers of complaint. "If any one incurred the slightest suspicion of this Holy Tribunal, if any one was accused by a secret informer, he was thrown into a dungeon, forced to accuse himself by anguish and torture, and, unless there were particular reasons for mitigation, led to the stake. His property fell to the Holy Tribunal, or to the king; and his children were made infamous. Sentences of condemnation were passed even against those who had reposed long in their graves, and executed on their disinterred bones, on their property, and on their innocent descendants. No person in the kingdom was secure from the clutches of the holy catch-poles: the Inquisition murdered even in the service of private revenge or royal tyranny." These tribunals were also established in France and Germany: and although Louis XII. had been betrayed, insulted, and injured, by his ghostly Fathers of Rome, he continued obsequious to their spiritual authority. (Rotteck.)

Fraud, violence, avarice, and an indomitable thirst of power, were the marked characteristics of the spiritual lords of the universe. "The licentious examples of the pontiffs were zealously imitated in the lives and manners of the subordinate rulers and ministers of the Church. The greatest part of the bishops and canons passed their days in dissolute mirth and luxury, and squandered away, in the gratification of their lust and passions, the wealth that had been set apart for religious and charitable purposes. Nor were they less tyrannical than voluptuous; for the most despotic princes never treated their vassals

with more rigor and severity, than these ghostly rulers employed toward all such as were under their jurisdiction. The decline of virtue among the clergy was attended with the loss of the public esteem; and the most considerable part of that once respected body became, by their sloth and avarice, their voluptuousness and impurity, their ignorance and levity, contemptible and infamous, not only in the eyes of the wise and good, but also in the universal judgment of the multitude." "All the offices and dignities of the Church were become venal every where; the way of preferment was inaccessible to merit, and the wicked and licentious were rendered capable of rising to the highest ecclesiastical honors." (Mosheim.)

Such is the picture which delineates by faithful touches the corruption and the depravity of the morals prevailing in the Christian Church in the beginning of the sixteenth century. But the monastic orders had sunk to a still lower depth in the abyss of profligacy and vice. The convents were the receptacles of vice and debauchery: and these Institutions, *always the seminaries for the nurture and growth of the licentious passions*, flourished in that age of unrestrained libertinism. "The authority of the Holy Mother-Church; the obligations of obedience to her decisions; the virtues and merits of the saints, and their credit in the court of Heaven; the dignity, glory, and love of the blessed Virgin; the efficacy of relics; the duty of adorning churches, and endowing monasteries; the necessity of good works (as understood in the Theology of Romanism) to salvation; the intolerable burnings of purgatory; and the efficacy of indulgences"—were the only themes of an ignorant and superstitious horde of Popish preachers. The spiritual labors of the clergy were directed to the acquisition of wealth, as means of sensual enjoyments, and the gratification of corrupt passions: "Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools; and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man"—"Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness through the lusts of their own hearts, to dishonor their own bodies between themselves:* who changed the truth of God into a lie, and wor-

* Julius III.—elevated to the pontificate in 1555—bestowed the cardinal's hat on the keeper of his monkeys, a boy chosen from among the lowest of the populace, and who was also the infamous object of his unnatural pleasures.

shipped and served the creature more than the Creator"—"And as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient; being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication,* wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity," &c.—"covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful."

But amid this darkness which covered the earth, and the gross darkness which seemed to overshadow all Christendom, glimmering lights were seen above the moral horizon. From Scotland the cheering rays shot forth with an evanescent lustre. The valleys of Piedmont still reflected that almost extinguished blaze which had shone for centuries over a benighted world; and a glimmering star still shed its tremulous beams over the afflicted Provinces of Languedoc and Dauphiny. The spirit of Reformation was pressed down by the heavy arm of the Roman Hierarchy; but although bowed to the dust by a power which kept the world in awe, it was still elastic by its inherent energies. Scotland had witnessed her holy martyrs sacrificed by Popish bigotry at the altar of their faith; the Vaudois "had been slain with the sword, had wandered in deserts and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth;" and the Waldenses of Paganized France had fallen under the sword of their cruel

(Mosheim b. iv. sec. 3. ch. I. note 7.) "*Formosum Pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin, delicias Domini,*" &c.—Virgil.

"In the middle of the seventeenth century, Innocent X., a man of profound ignorance, united with his stupidity the most shameful profligacy, and was the dupe of an abandoned woman, with whom he lived in the most infamous commerce, and who, to complete the scandal, was the widow of his brother." (Ruter; from Mosheim.)

* Paul III.—pontiff from 1534 to 1549. He was reproached, in a book published before his death, under the name of Ochino,† with having poisoned his mother and his nephew; with having ravished a young virgin at Ancona; with an incestuous and adulterous commerce with his daughter Constantia, who died of poison administered by the Pope, to prevent any interruption in his odious amours. It is mentioned, in the same book, that being caught in bed with his niece, Laura Farnese, who was the wife of Nic. Quercel, he received from the incensed husband a stab of a dagger, of which he bore the marks to his death."—Mosheim, b. iv. sec. 3. ch. I. note 6.

† Bernardino Ochino, or Ocello, was a popular preacher of the reform doctrines, at this period.

persecutors and murderers. "These all died in faith—having received the promises ; were persuaded of them, and embraced them." Popery now slept the sleep of orthodoxy. In a delirium of joy it ran wild in the triumph of victory. Truth was vanquished ; and Papal pride, and avarice, and ambition, and tyranny, exulted in its defeat. But the delusion soon vanished. Rome had silenced the storm ; but that silence was succeeded by a tempest which shook the Papal throne to its foundation. In that awful stillness which preceded it, the elements were combining, and exploded over the head of the deluded pontiff at a moment when all seemed to him harmony, peace, and safety.

With the beginning of the sixteenth century commenced a new era in the political, the literary, and the religious history of man. It was an epoch of the most memorable revolutions recorded in the annals of nations ; and which permanently changed the face of the civilized world. These changes have been fatal to Popery. An age of moral darkness was one most favorable to its system of mysteries and deception ; and the profound researches in the various branches of science which distinguished this period as the commencement of the age of reason and philosophy, dissipated the cloud which had for nearly thirteen hundred years concealed the deformities and corruptions of the Roman Hierarchy.

Erasmus of Rotterdam was the first of a long list of philological writers who gave a decided and salutary tone to the literature of the age. His treatises, "*De Copia Verborum et Rerum*," and "*De Conscribendis Epistolis*," expanded the field of classical learning, and facilitated the investigations in the philosophy of language. His "*Adages*," published in the year 1500, established his reputation as a scholar of profound research, and as a writer endowed with the rare and happy tact of blending the "dulce" with the "utile." The vein of satire and enlivening mirth which runs through this abstruse and laborious research into the hidden and forgotten treasure of ancient lore, gave to this branch of science new fascinations, and purified as it improved the taste for literary pursuits. His "*Enchiridion Militis Christiani*," which appeared in 1503—written, as he informs us, "to cure the vulgar error of those who make religion consist in ceremonies, and the more than Jewish observance of bodily matters, strangely neglecting those things which pertain to real piety"—

deeply proved the corruptions of the Romish Church. In his *Adages*, he had, with pungent wit and severe satire, exposed the follies and the vices of the State as well as of the Church, and had not spared the errors and false taste of the school. Erasmus was the pioneer in the great work of Reformation now commenced, to introduce a more humane and rational system in politics, a pure spirit of vital religion, and a refinement in the cultivation of literature. He laid the axe at the root of Papal tyranny, clerical abominations, and idolatrous worship.* He pointed out the by-paths which led to religious reformation; but he had not the moral courage to brave the dangers by which they were beset. That work, which he seems in a spirit of playful humor to have commenced, he shrunk from, when the bitter and uncompromising conflict arose. Whilst he was charged by one party with having "laid his hand to the plough and looked back"—he was censured by the other for standing idle, "while a boar was ravaging the vineyard of the Lord."† In 1505, he published an improved edition of Valla's Commentary on the New Testament, in which that writer "had denied the validity of Constantine's donation; the letter of Jesus Christ to Abgarus, king of Edessa (a forgery of the first century); the authenticity of the Apostles' Creed; and had severely attacked the immoralities of the clergy." For this work he is said to have received a severe scourging in the convent of the Jacobins at Naples. His "*Encomium Morie*" was written in England in 1509; and the absurdities of the theologians, as well as the immoralities of the clergy, were unsparingly satirized. The writings of Erasmus were every where read, and every where admired.

But whilst this great reformer of the morals of the age amused by the pungency of his satires and the sallies of his wit, in the capital of France, and in the purlieus of the Sorbonne, a more spiritual work was commenced. Jacobus Faber (Jacques le Fevre d'Etaples) had laid aside the philosophy of the schools, and the legends of the saints, and drew from the Holy Scriptures

* Luther said of Erasmus, that "he knew how to detect error, not to establish truth."

† Erasmus never renounced the Popish faith; and even aspired to the dignity of a cardinal.

themselves the divine doctrines of salvation. "God will change the face of the world," he said, when the light of truth had suddenly burst forth upon his mental vision, and he beheld, as reflected from a mirror, those spiritual rays which had penetrated his soul, and dissipated that moral darkness in which it had been enveloped. He embraced the word of God, and drew from that pure fountain the stream of eternal life; and then it was that, for the first time, the doctrine of justification by faith—the keystone of the Reformation—was preached, and boldly proclaimed, from the halls of the University. "The cross of Christ alone," said Lefevre, "opens heaven, and shuts the gates of hell." (D'Aubigné.)

"Thus, before 1512, at a time when Luther had made no impression on the world, but was taking a journey to Rome on some business touching the interests of some monks, and when Zwingli had not even begun to apply himself in earnest to Biblical studies, but was traversing the Alps, in company with the confederated forces, to fight under the Pope's banner, Paris and France heard the sound of those life-giving truths, whence the Reformation was destined to come forth; and there were found souls prepared to propagate those sounds, who received them with holy affection. "It was Lefevre," says Beza, "who boldly began the revival of the holy religion of Jesus Christ." (D'Aubigné.) But let us not be mistaken. Four hundred years before, the Vaudois, in the retired valleys of Piedmont, had maintained that "Christ is our life, and truth, and peace, and righteousness; our shepherd and advocate, our sacrifice and priest, who died for the salvation of all who should believe, and rose again for their justification." From the valleys this truth was transferred to the southern provinces of France. "There was at this time on the southern declivities of the Alps of Dauphiny, and along the banks of the Durance, an after-growth of the ancient Vaudois opinions. The roots were continually putting forth fresh shoots in all directions."

Lefevre preached those doctrines which Waldo had maintained at the close of the twelfth century; which Grostete, Bishop of Lincoln, advanced in the middle of the thirteenth; which Wickliffe had jeopardised his life in defending in the fourteenth; for which Huss had suffered martyrdom in the fifteenth; and for which the Vaudois and the Waldenses had been cruelly persecuted more than four hundred years before. When

Elijah made intercession to God against Israel, saying, "They have killed thy prophets, and digged down thine altars; and I am left alone, and they seek my life," God answered, "I have reserved to myself seven thousand men, who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal." Even so was it in the sixteenth century: "there was a remnant according to the election of grace." Persecution had driven the Church into the wilderness; and those humble worshippers of the spiritual cross preserved their faith in the recesses of the mountains, unnoticed and unknown. It was then that a doctor of the Sorbonne "boldly began the revival of the holy religion of Jesus Christ," "having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people; saying, with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come; and worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters."

Important changes now occurred in the political world. New actors appeared in the great drama; and Europe itself was the theatre. In the struggle which ensued, not only the fate of nations was involved, but the cause of religious liberty, the emancipation of the human mind from the thralldom of spiritual tyranny and Papal domination, were cast upon the issue.

In 1515, Louis XII. died; and Francis I., Count of Angoulême, succeeded to the throne of France. His sister, Margaret of Valois, Duchess of Alençon, a princess distinguished for her amiable virtues and her literary acquirements, married Henry II. King of Navarre. The queen-mother was the dissolute Louisa of Savoy. In 1516, Charles, son of Philip of Austria, succeeded his grandfather Ferdinand as King of Spain; and in 1519, he was elected Emperor of Germany. Henry VIII., at the age of eighteen, had ascended the throne of England in the year 1509. In 1513, Leo X. was elevated to the Papal chair. His brother, Julian of Medicis, married Philiberta, sister of Louisa. Their father, Charles III., was the reigning Duke of Savoy, from 1504 to 1553.

Lefevre preached the doctrines of the Reformation in 1511, and in the following year he published his Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul. William Farel, (or Fareau,) a native of Dauphiny, embraced the doctrines of Lefevre, and zealously promoted the Reformation not only in France but in the Cantons of

Switzerland. At this period the controversy between Louis and the Pope suspended the efforts of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities to suppress the propagation of the reform tenets. An Assembly at Tours, composed of the representatives of the clergy, had decided that "the king had a right to make war against the Pope, and to carry into effect the decrees of the Council of Basle;" and in 1512, the doctors of the Sorbonne were called upon by that monarch to defend the throne against the claims of Papal supremacy within the kingdom. Under these auspicious circumstances the Reformation of the sixteenth century commenced. Then it was that the vital truths of the Gospel were first proclaimed from the University of Paris, and in the refined but licentious court of France. Those life-giving sounds, emanating from the capital, soon extended to the remote provinces of the kingdom; were re-echoed from the mountains of Switzerland: "Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication;" and then did the third angel proclaim with a loud voice, "If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation:" and this was the tone of Luther.

"The Reformation," says D'Aubigné, "was not, in France, an importation from strangers: it took its birth on the French territory. Its seed germinated in Paris; its earliest shoots were struck in the University itself, that ranked second in power in Romanized Christendom. God deposited the first principles of the work in the kindly hearts of some inhabitants of Picardy and Dauphiny, before it had begun in any other country of the globe."

In the French court, after the accession of Francis, were two women distinguished by high birth, intellectual attainments, and exemplary piety: Renata, afterward the Duchess of Ferrara, daughter of Louis XII., and Margaret, the sister of Francis. The former, after the death of her husband,* resided at the Castle of Montargis, near Paris; and having imbibed the doctrines of Lefevre and Farel, she strengthened the cause of the Reformation, not only by adopting its principles but by the protection which she extended to those who became, on account of

* Hercules II., Duke of Ferrara, died in the year 1559.

their religion, the objects of persecution. The latter, uninfluenced by the corruption and the frivolities of the court, of an inquiring mind and contemplative disposition, early embraced the new tenets; and by the control which she exercised over the king, softened for a time his asperity of feeling toward the advocates of the Reformation, and even persuaded him into measures which facilitated its progress. He encouraged polemical discussions, and founded professorships of the Hebrew and Greek languages. The indirect sanction which was thus given by Francis to the propagation of the Gospel, and the example of those illustrious women, introduced the new doctrines into the court, and undoubtedly led to their adoption by the princes and nobility of the kingdom. Such were the flattering prospects which opened to the view of the Reformers. Could the king have been persuaded to renounce the corrupt system of Popish worship, and embrace the doctrines of the Gospel, France would have been Christianized. But he was bound to his idols; and a terrible reverse awaited the followers of the cross.

Immediately subsequent to these incipient efforts in France to establish the spiritual religion of the Bible, and to overthrow the whole structure of Popish superstitions, Ulric Zwingle, in Switzerland, received, through the grace of God, the same spiritual light. In 1506, he was ordained by the Bishop of Constance; read soon after his first mass at Wildhaus; and toward the close of the year commenced his pastoral duties at Glaris. "As a Romish priest, he was like other priests around him." It was then that he engaged in a diligent study of the Holy Scriptures. His researches were laborious and indefatigable. As he advanced, increasing difficulties and perplexities beset his path. The more thorough his investigations of the principles of Christianity, the more incompatible with its divine spirit appeared the cumbrous and unmeaning observances of the Romish Church. For ten years he pursued his theological studies, discovering new truths, and detecting errors in the established forms of worship, as he progressed. "I am determined," he said in his letter to Vadian in 1513, "to apply myself so closely to Greek that no one but God shall call me off from that study." "I do so from a love of divine learning, and not for the sake of fame." "I applied myself," he said afterward, "in earnest prayer to the Lord to give me his light; and though I read nothing but Scripture, its

sense became clearer to me than if I had studied many commentaries." By slow and laborious advances he approached the truth of God's word. The great Head of the Church vouchsafed to impart to him that knowledge for which he so ardently sought. "I began," said Zwingli, at a later period of his life, "to preach the Gospel in the year of grace 1516: that is at a time when the name of Luther had never been heard among these countries. It was not from Luther, then, I learned the doctrines of Christ—it was from God's word. If Luther preached Christ, he does as I do: that is all." Then may be said to have commenced the Reformation in Switzerland. As Lefevre preceded Zwingli, so Zwingli preceded Luther.

In the year 1516, Zwingli was called to be preacher at Einsiedlen. Here stood an ancient chapel dedicated to the Virgin, on a spot which had become sacred by the murder of a monk in the ninth century. A convent and a church had been erected in commemoration of the death of this pious recluse; and Christ himself had pronounced his blessing upon it the night before it was to have been consecrated. The angels, apostles, and saints, united in solemn chorus, and the Virgin appeared on the altar as a flash of lightness. All this had been duly confirmed by his Holiness Pope Leo VIII., and no faithful son of the Church could question the truth of the narration. When Zwingli was called to Einsiedlen, an image of the Virgin, or of "our Lady of the Eremites," endowed with miraculous powers, was ensconced in the monastery; and over the gate might have been seen, in legible characters, the following inscription: "Here may be obtained complete remission of sins." Here the Reformer became more deeply impressed with a conviction of the utter depravity into which the Romish Church had sunk, and of the gross deception exercised upon the ignorant and deluded people: and with renewed zeal preached "salvation through Christ alone." "By God's help," he said, "I mean to preach the Gospel—and that will shake Rome." "The Pope must fall," he remarked in conversation with Capito. From Switzerland we pass to Germany, where the progress of the Reformation was marked by the most exciting incidents. We have seen it silently and peacefully advancing in France, and extending its branches from the capital to the distant provinces of the kingdom, countenanced by the throne, and sustained by the nobility. At its commencement in

Germany the elements of contention and strife were brought into action.

"In 1512, when Paris and France had already heard the sound of those life-giving truths whence the Reformation was destined to come forth," Martin Luther journeyed to Rome, to represent at the Papal court the monasteries of the Order of St. Augustine, which were engaged in a controversy with the Vicar-general. As he approached the great metropolis of the Christian world, overcome by feelings of devotion and awe, he prostrated himself upon the ground, and exclaimed: "Holy Rome I salute thee!"* With superstitious reverence, the pious young monk entered the seven-hilled city—engaged with enthusiasm in all the religious services of the Church—said masses for the souls in purgatory—ascended on his knees Pilate's staircase (which had been miraculously transported from Jerusalem to Rome) to obtain the Pope's indulgence—visited with devout reverence the temples of worship—associated with the monks—conversed with the pontiff—beheld with astonishment the statue of Pope Joan, clothed in the papal mantle and with a child in her arms—listened with astonishment to the impious conversation of the priests—witnessed their sacrilege of the sacred altar—and departed from the city with the conviction, as he expressed himself: "*If there be a hell, Rome is built above it; it is an abyss from whence all sins proceed.*"

Luther returned to Wittenberg, and in compliance with the earnest solicitations of Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and the Vicar-general Staupitz, he consented to receive the degree and title of doctor of the Holy-Scriptures, when, as he declared, he had not read the Bible.† He swore "to defend the truth of the Gospel with all his strength;" of which, he acknowledged afterward, he was utterly ignorant. Such was the theology of the Church of Christ in the beginning of the sixteenth century; and such was the state of Luther's mind in the year 1512. But he was conscientious and moral in his principles; and in the strict observance of the rites, and firm belief in the tenets of the Romish Church, he was religious. From this period he devoted himself to the word of God. The solemn vow he had made, he was resolved by the help of God to fulfill. He was chosen for

* D'Aubigné.

† D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 175.

the work by the great Head of the Church ; and that light and strength which the work required, were imparted to him from above. "Within my heart," he said, "reigns alone, and must alone reign, faith in my Lord Jesus Christ, who alone is the beginning, the middle, and the end of the thoughts that occupy me day and night." Justification by faith formed the ground-work of all his subsequent discourses—faith in Jesus Christ as the only mediator between God and man—and sanctification, as the fruits of this faith. "He pointed out the difference between the law and the Gospel. He refuted that error, then predominant in the Church and schools, that men by their own works obtain remission of sins, and are made righteous before God by an external discipline." Such was the character of Luther's preaching in 1516. "The Papacy endeavored to stop me," he said, "in the discharge of my duty, but you see what has happened to it ; and much worse shall yet befall it ; they cannot defend themselves against me. By God's help I am resolved to press on, to force a passage through, and trample dragons and vipers under foot. This will begin in my lifetime, and finish after I am gone." "The inability of man"—"the almighty power of God"—these were the pillars on which he raised his structure. He built on the foundation laid by the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone.

With these clear and spiritual views of the doctrines of the word of God, Luther declared, at a subsequent period of his life, that he "was then a monk, a Papist of the maddest," "so infatuated and even steeped in the Romish doctrines, that I would, he said, "willingly have helped to kill any one who had the audacity to refuse the smallest act of obedience to the Pope ; I was a true Saul, like many others still living." It was at this period that Zwingli had pronounced the energetic and solemn asseveration that the Pope must fall : "and had fearlessly declared, that "the whole Papacy rests on bad foundations." "By God's help, he said, I mean to preach the Gospel, and that will shake Rome."*

But the crisis at length arrived, when Germany first, and the

* The whole tenor of Zwingli's discourses, compared with the announcement of the second angel mentioned in the Apocalypse, xiv. 8, exhibits a striking coincidence.

several States of Europe soon after, were agitated by the conflict between the powers of darkness and the kingdom of Christ. Leo X., of the magnificent family of the Medici, succeeded to the Papal throne in 1513. The character of this pontiff has been variously represented. Guicciardini describes him as influenced by political craft. Paulus Jovius declares pride and vanity to have operated on his resolutions. Fra Pablo states that he was a voluptuary, passionately fond of pageantry, and willing at all times to sacrifice the interests of the Church in order to gratify his own desires.* It is universally admitted, however, that he was a patron of literature and the fine arts. Mosheim describes him as "remarkable for his prodigality, luxury, and imprudence; having an invincible aversion to whatever was accompanied with solicitude and care: and of being obnoxious to the charge of impiety, if not atheism." Other writers have attached to him an amiability of character. His extravagant style of living, and peculiar fondness for courtly magnificence, involved him in pecuniary embarrassments; and compelled him to resort to extraordinary means of replenishing his coffers. "His manners," says Sarpi as quoted by D'Aubigné, "were so charming that he would have been a perfect man, if he had had some knowledge in religious matters, and a little more inclination for piety, concerning which he never troubled himself." He was, however, not less tenacious of his Papal prerogatives than his predecessors had been. In the General Council, which Julius II. had convened in the Lateran, in the year 1512, and which had continued its sessions after his death, Leo cautiously excluded every measure which might affect those prerogatives, or lead to a reform in the Church. The splendor and luxury which he maintained, and the extortions, which from necessity or avarice he resorted to, unexpectedly hastened the consummation of those efforts to establish religious liberty, which had for centuries disturbed the peace of the Church.

By the advice of his counsellor, Leo resorted to the customary expedient of selling indulgences. This had for ages been a lucrative source of wealth; but from the multiplied abuses which had sprung up under the frequent exercise of this power by the

† Browning's History of the Huguenots, p. 17, note.

Popes, it had become an unpopular measure, and even the religious orders had openly opposed it as odious and oppressive. Nor was this opposition confined to the mendicants; many of the princes and higher ecclesiastics exclaimed against the baseness of this spiritual traffic. This fact is an undoubted evidence of the improved moral feeling of the age, and of the diffusion of the reform principles, which cherished no sympathy with the gross corruptions of the Papal Hierarchy. Leo himself was supposed to have connived at the pious frauds of the Church to accomplish his selfish purposes, fully conscious of the absurdity of the doctrines on which they were founded. The extravagance of his court had not only exhausted his treasury, but had anticipated the resources by which it was supplied. To his sister Magdalene, who had married Cibo, the natural son of Innocent VIII., he had assigned the income arising from the sale of indulgences in Saxony and the countries bordering on the Baltic: and she had farmed out the revenue to Arcemboldi, a Genoese merchant and bishop. Albert, Archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, whose court, for profligacy and profusion, was a miniature representation of that of Rome, pressed by his necessitous circumstances, contracted with the pontiff for the farming of all the indulgences to be sold in Germany; or, as it was expressed—"covenanted for the remission of the sins of the Germans." This Elector was at the time indebted to the Pope for the pallium he had received at his ordination, in the sum of thirty thousand florins. The immediate payment of this amount was one of the conditions of the contract. Albert procured this sum from bankers in Augsburg; and hypothecated the expected proceeds from the sale of indulgences for the payment of the loan. John Tetzl, Bachelor of Theology, Prior of the Dominicans, Apostolical Commissioner, Inquisitor, (*hereticæ pravitatis inquisitor*), &c., undertook to sell the letters-patent for the salvation of souls, on commissions: and thus was the whole matter arranged between the several parties in this iniquitous transaction.

"Those famous indulgences* of Leo," says Mosheim, "which administered the remission of all sins, past, present, and to come, however enormous their nature, were disposed of by this front-

* See Appendix A.

less monk, with matchless insolence, indecency,* and fraud." Having been forbidden by the Princes of Saxony to enter their dominions, he opened his market on the confines of the territory of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, within four miles of Wittemberg, in the year 1517.

Luther then occupied the confessional chair; and as a father confessor granted absolution to penitents. The scandalous conduct of Tetzel excited a general indignation; and Luther himself was awakened to a sense of the impiety of this traffic, when those who confessed to him declared their reliance for forgiveness on the indulgences they had purchased, without any repentance on their part, or an amendment of their lives. He solemnly warned them of the danger of their delusion, and rejected their letters of indulgence. Tetzel, when informed of this, was thrown into a paroxysm of rage; pronounced against him the most threatening denunciations; and kindling a fire in the great square of Juterboch, publicly declared his authority from the Pope to commit all heretics to the flames. On the following day Luther preached the necessity of repentance; the inability of the sinner to satisfy God's justice; and pardon, as proceeding from unmerited and free grace of God through Christ alone. "If some cry that I am a heretic," he concluded—"for the truth which I speak is prejudicial to their coffers—I pay little regard to their clamors. They are men of gloomy and sickly minds, who have never felt the truths of the Bible, never read the Christian doctrines, never understood their own teachers, and are perishing in the tattered rags of their vain opinions. God grant to them and to us a right understanding!" Tetzel replied, and Luther rejoined: and thus commenced the Reformation in Germany.

On the eve of All Saints, or the 31st of October, in the year 1517, Luther affixed to the door of the church in Wittemberg ninety-five propositions. In these—the doctrines of evangelical repentance, and of practical obedience proceeding from a radical change of the affections, are clearly laid down; and the impious

* "In describing the efficacy of these indulgences, Tetzel said, among other enormities, that, even had any one ravished the Mother of God, he (Tetzel) had wherewithal to efface his guilt. He also boasted that he had saved more souls from hell by these indulgences, than St. Peter had converted to Christianity by his preaching." (Mosheim, b. iv. sect. 1, ch. I. p. 412, note.)

scheme, of satisfaction rendered to divine justice by the meritorious works of the transgressor, is boldly condemned. They deny the power of the Pope to remit any other penalty than that which he himself imposes. They point out the danger of a reliance upon Papal indulgences for the forgiveness of sins. They enforce the observance of Christian charity. They hold up Christ as the head of the Church, whom all must follow, under the cross, through every trial, and through all tribulations. "The true and precious treasure of the Church, they maintain, is the holy Gospel of the glory and grace of God." They condemn those who, "to favor the preaching of indulgences, forbid the preaching of the word of God." They affirm that every true Christian, dead or living, is a partaker of all the riches of Christ, or of the Church, by the gift of God, and without any letters of indulgence; and warn those bishops, pastors, and divines, who preach otherwise, that they will have to give a fearful account of their stewardship.

As the question in controversy was the efficacy of indulgences, Luther strongly urged the scriptural doctrine of free grace. The popular feeling was in harmony with this evangelical truth. The audacity and fraudulent impositions of Tetzel, made more offensive by his profaneness and blasphemy, excited the public indignation; and the minds of men were every where prepared to abandon this corrupt system, and to embrace that truth. It was not, however, because "the evangelical doctrine of a free and gracious remission of sins was for the first time publicly expressed," as a recent writer has stated,* that the Reformer obtained the concurrence and co-operation of the people. The "Confession of Faith," the platform of the doctrines of the Church in the valleys of Piedmont, drawn up four hundred years before the days of Luther, declares, "That Christ had been promised to the fathers who received the law, to the end that, knowing their sin by the law, and their unrighteousness and insufficiency, they might desire the coming of Christ to make satisfaction for their sins, and to accomplish the law by himself;" and, "That at the time appointed of the Father, Christ was born; a time when iniquity every where abounded, to make it manifest that it was not for the sake of any good in ourselves, for all were

* D'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 243.

sinners, but that He who is true might display his grace and mercy toward us." That "Confession" affirms also, "That Christ is our life, and truth, and peace, and righteousness—our shepherd and advocate, our sacrifice and peace, who died for the salvation of all who should believe, and rose again for their justification;" and "that there is no other mediator, or advocate, with God the Father, but Jesus Christ." Mr. Hume has also remarked, that "the rumor of these innovations soon reached England; and, as there still subsisted in that kingdom great remains of the Lollards, whose principles resembled those of Luther, the new doctrines secretly gained many partisans among the laity, of all ranks and denominations."

In the controversy now commenced, it appears that the Reformer had no settled purpose or design to interfere with, or to change, the established rites of the Church; and if we may draw an inference from probability, the conclusion is rational, that, but for the intemperate zeal and violence of Tetzels, and the persecuting spirit evinced by the emissaries of Rome, he would after this have been silent. "I entered on this controversy," he said, "without any settled purpose or inclination, and entirely unprepared—I call God to witness this who sees the heart." The theses themselves show that he was still bound under the thralldom of the Roman Hierarchy: penance and purgatory, notwithstanding his views of free grace, and the conditions of our acceptance with God, were not entirely eradicated from his mind. He speaks of the one as applicable to the living only; and of the other, as not being exclusively under the power of the Pope, but of every bishop in his diocese, and of every curate in his parish. "We must not," he said, "despise the Pope's distributive and pardoning power, for his pardon is a declaration of God's pardon"—"It is the duty of bishops and pastors to receive with all respect the commissioners of the apostolical indulgences"—"Cursed be whosoever speaks against the Pope's indulgence," &c. Such appears to have been the unsettled state of Luther's mind when he commenced the conflict with Tetzels.

The Emperor Maximilian read the theses, and admired them; and Leo remarked, when he saw them: "That same Brother Martin is a man of talent, and all that is said against him is mere monkish jealousy." They were circulated in Rome. In a short time they were carried into every part of Europe, and publicly

sold in the streets of Jerusalem. But when the first impulse of feeling had subsided, the votaries of Rome, particularly the Dominicans, sounded the alarm; and the doctrines of Luther were attacked with the utmost virulence and malignancy. Tetzel, with the aid of Conrad Wimpina, a celebrated divine, and Professor in the University of Frankfort on the Oder, prepared a series of propositions, which he published as antitheses in reply to the theses of Wittemberg. In these he maintained the supremacy of the Pope above the universal Church and the General Councils, his spiritual authority over all matters of faith, his infallibility, and the peculiar sanctity of his character; and that his decrees in exposition of the Holy Scriptures are more binding on Christians "than the unanimous opinion of all the learned, resting merely upon their interpretation of the Bible. 'Christians should be taught,' said Tetzel, 'that there are many things which the Church regards as certain articles of the Catholic faith, although they are not found either in the inspired Scriptures or in the early fathers'—Christians should be taught to regard as obstinate heretics all who, by speech, action, or writings, declare that they would not retract their heretical propositions, though excommunication after excommunication should be showered upon them like hail." He denounced all those who interpose their authority in the protection of heretics, &c. "Whosoever," he said, "shall say the soul does not take its flight from purgatory immediately that the money is dropped into the chest, is in error." Tetzel maintained these propositions in his academical discourses when he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He erected a scaffold, on which he committed the writings of Luther to the flames, and publicly declared that "the heretic ought to be burned alive."

Rome now awoke from its slumber. Luther's friends, in defiance, had also committed to the flames the antitheses of Tetzel. The controversy was made to assume a graver aspect. The question was no longer confined to the traffic in indulgences, but involved the authority of the Pope and the safety of the Church. More formidable champions now entered the list. Sylvester Prierias, censor, and master of the pontifical palace; James Hochstraten, Inquisitor of Cologne; and Eckius, a celebrated professor of Divinity at Ingolstadt, severally attacked Luther with unmitigated severity. "Whoever," said Prierias,

"does not rely on the teaching of the Roman Church, and of the Roman Pontiff, as the infallible rule of faith, and as that from which Holy Scripture itself derives its obligation and authority, is a heretic"—"Nor is the Church under any obligation to employ argument to combat and overcome rebels." Here was the ignorance and bigotry of the dark ages contending against the spiritual light beaming upon a regenerated world in the sixteenth century. Rome was still groping in moral darkness; while the human intellect, having cast aside the fetters which had bound it to its errors and its superstitions, was emerging from the clouds of a benighted atmosphere to a sunshine of science and Gospel truth. Here was the advantage which the Reformation had in its conflict with the Papacy. Its efforts were those of renewed vigor against the decrepitude of enfeebled age.

Luther had taken the first step with boldness, but he was not entirely free from apprehensions. He was appalled by the magnitude of the work he had commenced. "From my heart," he said, "I honored the Church of the Pope as the true Church." He cherished a superstitious reverence for it. This religious veneration had been imbibed in his infancy, and had been strengthened by his education. "Who was I," he said, "to oppose the Pope's majesty, before which, not only the kings of the earth, and the whole world trembled; but also, if I may so speak, heaven and hell were constrained to obey the slightest intimation of his will. No one can know what I suffered those first two years, and in what dejection, I may say in what despair, I was often plunged." He designed to remove an excrescence from the body, and discovered that he had, unconsciously, inflicted a fatal wound. But he had questioned the infallibility of the Church, he had exposed its corruption, and the only alternative was—either to retract, against the solemn convictions of his mind, or peril his life in the conflict. There was no middle ground of compromise. Rome demands implicit and servile obedience to its mandates, and the Reformation advances.

Leo summoned Luther to appear before the Papal court to answer to the charges alleged against him, and to maintain his cause. Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, averted the danger, by insisting upon a reference of the case to a tribunal within the empire: and the Reformer accordingly repaired to Augsburg in the month of October, 1518. His judge was the Cardinal Thomas

Vio de Gaeta, better known as Cajetan, the legate of the Pope. He was a Dominican, and therefore inimical to Luther. The extirpation of heresy was the peculiar office of that order. Neither moderation nor clemency could have been expected from a judicial tribunal in which this Dominican legate was both judge and arbitrator : and whatever appearance of mildness and impartiality there might be in the proceedings of this ecclesiastical court, before its final adjudication, Luther had every thing to fear from Italian duplicity and cunning, and nothing to hope from this "grand inquisitor of heretical pravity."

CHAPTER III.

THE Diet of the Empire had been convened at Augsburg, and in that assembly the Reformer had friends of influence and power, who could have shielded him from any personal violence which his enemies might be disposed to exercise toward him. But it had adjourned before his arrival; and the Emperor, who had urged the Pope to decisive measures for terminating this religious controversy, was still in the environs of Augsburg. Luther had been previously warned of a dangerous conspiracy against his life. It could not therefore have been without alarm that he found, on his arrival, the legate of the Pope surrounded by his minions, and himself defenceless in his power. These dangers were increased by a recent sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by the Bishop of Asculan.

Cajetan was instructed by the pontiff to receive the Reformer into communion with the Church upon his recantation and petition for pardon; but, if obstinate and contumacious, to repeat the sentence of excommunication against him; to detain him in safe custody that he might be carried to Rome; and to cast out of the Church all who should countenance and protect him. Two propositions were submitted, which Luther was imperatively required to retract: "That the treasure of indulgence does not consist of the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of the saints"—"That the man who receives the holy sacrament must have faith in the grace offered to him." "You must," said the legate, "return to your duty; you must acknowledge your faults, and retract your errors, your theses, and your sermons. You must promise to abstain, for the future, from propagating your opinions. You must engage to be more discreet, and avoid every thing that may grieve or disturb the Church." Luther re-

plied, that the question of indulgence might be deferred, without a compromise of faith by either party; but, as to the second proposition—the necessity of faith in the grace offered at the holy sacrament—by God's help he would hold it to the end." "I am not come here to argue with you," rejoined the legate; "retract, or prepare to endure the punishment you have deserved." Such was the spirit in which the several conferences were conducted. An humble submission was imperatively required by the representative of the Pope; a steadfastness of purpose, and undaunted courage, marked the character of the Reformer.

The legate would, notwithstanding, have preferred that their differences were brought to a close, by even an apparent concession on the part of his opponent; and to effect this he proposed, that the article as to faith in the sacraments might be interpreted by him in his own way, and his opinion on the subject of indulgences should be revoked. "Whence it is evident," said a contemporaneous writer, "that Rome attaches more importance to money than to our holy faith and the salvation of souls." The artifice, however, was too apparent: when, after this proposal, he preserved an inexplicable silence, and closed all communication on the subject. Luther, fully aware of the impending danger, hastily drew up an appeal—"from Leo X., ill-informed, to himself, when he shall be better informed on the matter"—and immediately departed from Augsburg. He arrived in safety at Wittemberg, the 31st of October, and was joyfully received by the Elector Frederick.

This was an important epoch in the life of the Reformer, and in the history of the Reformation. He had eluded the grasp of the legate; but in what part of the empire could he find a refuge from the omnipotence of Rome? It was at this period that he seriously meditated a removal to France. There, he believed he could with more safety propagate his doctrines. They had been already introduced into the University of Paris by Lefevre; the doctors of the Sorbonne were freely discussing the intricate questions in theology; and the court had not yet opposed the principles of the Reformation. The Elector, fearful of incurring the displeasure of the Pope, had urged his departure from Wittemberg. At this critical moment, while cast down in despondency and gloom, unexpected and more cheering prospects were opened to his view. "The Pope's envoy," said

Frederick, in a letter to him, "hopes that every thing may be settled in a conference ; remain for the present."

Luther now published a full account of what had transpired in his conferences with the legate at Augsburg. In his letter to Link, accompanying a copy of his report ; "I send you what I have written," he said, "in order that you may judge if I am right in believing that the Antichrist, of whom St. Paul speaks, now reigns in the court of Rome. I think I can prove that now-a-days the power that presides there is worse than the Turks themselves." Such was the revolution in his sentiments of the character of the Roman Pontiff. At a later period of his life he remarked, "In my earlier writings I very humbly conceded to the Pope many and important things which I now abhor, and regard as abominable and blasphemous." From the close of the year 1518, we are to view the Reformation in Germany as having assumed a new and more decided character.

The intelligent and the pious were every where impressed with a deep sense of the necessity of reforming the Church, by modifying its pretensions, and correcting those abuses which had become odious to the popular feeling. The crisis had evidently arrived when a movement on the part of the Papacy itself to effect this object should have been dictated, not only by a wise policy, but by a spirit of concession to the moral improvement of the age. The inflexible position it had assumed, and hitherto maintained, in the Christian world, of infallibility in its doctrines and judgments, and of impeccability in its character, might safely have been receded from, in conformity with the enlightened views of the period, and in compliance with the just demands of the genius of Reformation. Happily, however, for the cause of religious liberty, it yielded nothing, compromised in nothing, tenaciously held on to its vices and corruptions ; and thus, by its pertinacity, hastened the progress of a religious revolution which it designed and labored to arrest. "*Vestigia nulla retrorsum*," was a principle which it had boastingly maintained, and which it now clung to with a dying and convulsive grasp. Such was the spirit of Papacy in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

While Luther seemed to have obtained the popular sympathy only from the justness of his cause, and the manifest abuses in the traffic of indulgences formed the only strong ground of his

opposition to the Papal hierarchy, Rome might have disarmed that opposition, and turned in its favor the public sympathy, by an admission of its error, and a voluntary correction of the evil. But Leo strengthened the justness of that cause by the publication of a special edict, "commanding his spiritual subjects to acknowledge his power of delivering from all the punishments due to sin and transgression of every kind." Luther appealed from the pontiff to the judgment of a general council. "Seeing," he said, "that the Pope, who is God's vicar upon earth, may, like any other man, fall into error, commit sin, and utter falsehood, and that the appeal to a general council is the only safeguard against acts of injustice which it is impossible to resist: on these grounds I find myself obliged to have recourse to it." This bold and decisive measure gave a new aspect to the Reformation.

The course of these events was interrupted in the following year by the death of Maximilian. Frederick, during the interregnum, administered the affairs of the empire. The electoral college would have elevated him to the throne, but he declined the honor; and through his influence, Charles of Austria, then king of Spain, was elected, and succeeded to the government, of the empire as Charles V. Francis I. of France had been a competitor for the throne, and the rivalry between those monarchs occasioned a succession of wars which desolated Europe. Leo had been opposed to the elevation of Charles. During the intrigues which were carried on to control the election, his attention was in a measure withdrawn from the controversy with the Reformer, and he was induced, by existing circumstances, rather to adopt a conciliatory course, than to resort to coercive means of reducing him to obedience. Germany was also, at the time, disturbed by civil commotions. This unsettled state of political affairs gave to the Church an appearance, at least, of internal peace. The pontiff was still solicitous of healing the schism, and of re-establishing the ancient pretensions and prerogatives of the Papal hierarchy.

Charles Miltitz, a Saxon knight, whose lay character it was supposed would be less offensive to Luther than a divine of the Dominican order, was commissioned as the Pope's legate, to effect a reconciliation between him and the court of Rome. With his seventy briefs, which were to be brought in requisition

in the event of an entire failure of the arts of persuasion, he opened with the Reformer a negotiation at Altenburg, in a friendly and conciliatory tone, softened by blandishments and complimentary expressions. His efforts were not altogether unsuccessful. Luther consented to preserve thereafter a profound silence on the subjects in controversy, if his opponents were restrained from renewing their attacks upon him; to write to his friends, requesting them to continue in submission to the Church; to disavow publicly any intention, in what he had already published, to attack the Church of Rome; and to address a letter to his Holiness, "acknowledging that he had been a little too violent, and declaring that, as a faithful son of the Church, he had opposed a style of preaching which drew upon it the mockeries and insults of the people." He did not make, it is true, a positive retraction of his doctrines; but in this submission we cannot but acknowledge there was a concession which was equivalent to a revocation of his former sentiments—a receding from the lofty ground on which he stood. In the letter which he addressed to Leo, in the month of March, 1519, and in which he styles him his "Most Holy Father," he declares, "in the presence of God, and of all the world, I never have sought, nor will I ever seek, to weaken, by force or artifice, the power of the Roman Church or of your Holiness." "I confess," he continues, "there is nothing in heaven or earth that should be preferred above that Church, save only Jesus Christ, the Lord of all."

Not long after, in his letter to Spalatin, he says: "I am reading the decretals of the pontiffs, and, let me whisper it in your ear, I know not whether the Pope is Antichrist himself, or whether he is his apostle; so misrepresented, and even crucified, does Christ appear in them." Notwithstanding this opinion of the head of the Church, and its canons, he expressed at the same time a most ardent and unshaken attachment to it, and a fixed purpose not to separate from it on account of its iniquities. "The worse things are going, the more should we hold close to it."

Luther had undoubtedly halted in his career. The voice which raised the storm was silenced, but the elements were in agitation. Had Luther been withdrawn from the work, the Reformation would have advanced. But the indiscretion and

intemperate zeal of the votaries of Rome renewed the controversy. Eckius, the celebrated doctor of Ingolstadt, attacked the doctrines of Luther. In his theses, he introduced the question of the Pope's supremacy, as derived immediately from St. Peter, and transmitted by succession through the several prelates of Rome. The gauntlet was thrown down in defiance, the conditions of peace were violated, and Luther accepted the challenge. The conflicts in his own mind are remarkably portrayed in his writings; and he has explained the inconsistency which marked his course at this period of his life, by the declaration at the time. "God," he said, "does not conduct, but drives me, and carries me forward. I am not master of my own actions. I would gladly live in peace, but I am cast in the midst of tumult and changes." That he had no settled purpose, no fixed object in view, even now, when two years had transpired since the publication of his theses in Wittenberg, is apparent from the mutableness in his conduct, and the variableness of his opinions.

In June, the disputants assembled at Leipsic. Luther, Carlstadt, and Melancthon, were the representatives of the reform party. The discussion was carried on for several successive days in the castle of Pleissenburg. The abstract question of the powers and freedom of the human will, was discussed between Eckius and Carlstadt. Luther and Eckius then disputed concerning the authority and supremacy of the Roman Pontiff. This supremacy, the Reformer admitted, might be by universal consent, but denied that it was founded on divine right. He maintained his opinion by the Holy Scriptures, by the fathers of the primitive Church, and by the decrees of ecclesiastical councils. Eckius, in reply, addressing himself to the religious prejudices of his audience, identified the doctrines of his adversary with those of the Bohemians. "The inferences the Doctor has drawn," he said, "are entirely favorable to their errors; and it is said they boast of this." Luther, in his answer, remarked: "I neither love, nor ever shall love a schism. Since on their own authority the Bohemians have separated from unity with us, they are in the wrong, even though divine right should be in favor of the doctrine; for the highest divine right is love and the unity of the Spirit.

In the warmth of discussion Luther advanced beyond the

boundaries he had hitherto prescribed to himself. He publicly denied the spiritual supremacy of the pontiff. There was no longer a middle ground of compromise between the parties. The breach was irreparable. He was reminded by his friends, that "he had gone far in condemning the Christians of Bohemia." "Had they not contended for the doctrines he had maintained?" He was struck with the justness of the reproof; and when the discussion was resumed he fearlessly affirmed that "among the articles of John Huss and the Bohemians, there are some that are most agreeable to Christ. This is certain; and of this sort is that article: 'There is only one Church universal; and it is not necessary to salvation that we should believe the Roman Church superior to others.' It matters little to me whether Wickliffe or Huss said it. It is truth."

The ground of controversy was changed. Papal supremacy had been questioned. The rector of the university, who presided, refused to award the victory to either party, and the spirit of the Reformation triumphed. Eckius was the boasted champion of the Papacy. Well versed in the theology of the schools, and the subtleties of the Aristotelian philosophy, he had won prizes in eight universities of Hungary, Lombardy, and Germany. Flushed with these literary triumphs, he entered the arena against the Doctor of Wittemberg, with a confidence in his practised skill in syllogistic disputations. He was sustained by the approving voices of the learned theologians of the Universities. Not to have obtained a decided, an overwhelming triumph, against an "obscure monk," as he had entitled his adversary, was virtually a signal and mortifying defeat. The question itself was one of vital import. The pontiff's supremacy was the foundation of the whole Papal structure. To shake this endangered the entire system. Luther had not dared to touch this sacred depository of the Romish faith. That Church which he had declared more honored by God than all others,—in whose communion St. Peter and St. Paul, and hundreds of thousands of martyrs, had laid down their lives, having overcome hell and the world—that Church on which, he had said, the eyes of God had rested with peculiar favor—he now renounced, by affirming that "it is not necessary to salvation we should believe it superior to others." Henceforward we are to view the

character of the Reformer in a new light. His purposes were fixed : his course was clearly marked out by Providence, and he no longer wavered.

Decided as was his opposition to the Papal hierarchy, his early prejudices were not thoroughly eradicated. He still believed in purgatory ; but not in the sense maintained by the fathers and by the Church. In his opinion of the seven sacraments, he differed but little from the articles of the Church : and he had yet assented to *some* only of the Bohemian doctrines. On the subject of indulgences, however, he was decided ; and Eckius himself would not controvert this point. " Had I not met Doctor Martin on the question of the Pope's primacy, he said, I could almost come to agreement with him." Such seems to have been the position of Luther at the close of the year 1519.

In 1516, Francis I., king of France, abrogated the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, by a concordate between the Pope and himself at Bologna. This, it has already been stated, was exceedingly offensive to the Gallican Church. The king attended in person the Parliament of Paris, to enforce its registration ; and by this arbitrary act re-established in his kingdom the Pope's supremacy over the councils. The Sorbonne protested against the measure ; but Francis was obstinate, and the concordate was eventually submitted to without farther opposition. The nomination to all vacant benefices was thus reposed in the crown ; and these spiritual preferments were disposed of by the favorites at court as articles of traffic.

Louisa of Savoy, the mother of Francis, whose sister had married the brother of the reigning pontiff, was a woman of licentious character, and exercised over the king an unbounded influence. Her conduct gave a tone to the manners of the court ; and hence it became the most dissolute and corrupt in Europe, and was distinguished for its intrigues and its vices. Francis, although possessed of many noble qualities, was himself addicted to gallantries ; and yielded to that influence which thus disgraced his throne. Louisa was bigoted in the religion she professed ; and her lover, Duprat, the chancellor of the kingdom, who had been instrumental in reinstating the Papal authority in France, was equally embittered against the principles of the Reformation. Hence arose the prejudices which the king

insensibly imbibed against the teachers of its doctrines. The example of the monarch influenced the clergy; and his submission to the pontiff effaced from their recollection the ancient privileges of the Gallican Church. The doctors of the University, who, in the preceding reign, had combatted against the dogmas of Cajetan, now attached their faith to that of the throne, and in a spirit of obsequiousness became the relentless persecutors of those who questioned the spiritual supremacy of the Pope.

The cause of the Reformation had, however, received an impulse before these unhappy influences had been arrayed against it. Margaret of Valois, and the Duchess of Ferrara, countenanced and sustained it; and it acquired a strength, by the accession of innumerable converts, which defied the combined malice and hatred of its enemies. Luther appears not to have been aware of the change which had taken place in Paris, when he consented to refer the decision of his controversy with Eckius at Leipsic to the doctors of the Sorbonne. Copies of this disputation were distributed throughout Europe; and were joyfully received by Lefevre, Farel, Briçonnet, and others, who were in advance of the German Reformer in their defence of the true doctrines of the Gospel. At the commencement of the year 1520 we may date the first communication between the Reformers in Germany and those in France—the first interchange of religious opinions, and the first step towards a co-operation in the great work. The appeal of Luther to the judgment of the University of Paris may be said, too, to have given rise to the first systematic efforts by the Sorbonne to crush the spirit of reform.

The most vehement of the opposers of the new tenets, was Beda, syndic of the University; and the first victim selected as the object of his persecution was Lefevre, the doctor of Etaples. The interference of the king arrested the sentence of condemnation. This was in 1519. In the following year, a deputation of the University petitioned the king to issue his mandate against the Reformers; but Francis, immersed in dissipation, was not disposed to abandon the scenes of his pleasures, and dismissed the application by forbidding the Faculty to molest, as heretics, those who, he believed, were men of learning. But the University had condemned the doctrines of Luther, committed his writ-

ings to the flames, and decreed that he should be compelled to retract. The propagation of heresy must be also arrested in France: and as the king prohibited the scaffold and the fire, a more quiet mode was resorted to, of unceasing annoyance in the enjoyment of their religious privileges.

Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux, who then favored the teachers of the Reform doctrines, established a school of theology in that city. Lefevre, wearied by this system of persecution, sought there an asylum from his enemies. This was the first triumph of fanaticism. Farel, Mazurier, Roussel, and Arnaud, followed soon after: and thus in the year 1521, the light which had been kindled ten years before in the capital was withdrawn. It was soon after these occurrences that Margaret of Valois wrote to Briçonnet those pious and touching appeals, which have given to us the certain indications of the state of her mind, and which portrayed in lively colors the character of the court. "Come down from your mountain," she said, "and look in pity on the blindest of all your fold, astray among a people living in darkness"—"The times are so cold, the heart so frozen up"—"Think of my loneliness in your prayers"—"Everlasting peace be given to you after the struggles you have waged for the faith—in the which cause pray that you may live and die."

Meaux* now became the centre from which the light of evangelical truth was to radiate, and shed its benign influences over the provinces of France. Here these early refugees retired from the noise and revelry of a dissolute court, and, unmolested by their enemies, propagated their doctrines by teaching, and distributing translations of the Scriptures, and tracts† on religious subjects. Briçonnet sent to Margaret the Epistles of St. Paul richly illuminated, which he requested her to present to the king. In one of her letters to the Bishop, she says, "I have received all the tracts you forwarded; of which my aunt of Nemours has taken some; and I mean to send her the last, for she is now in Savoy. Her absence is no small loss to me—think of my loneliness in your prayers." Such were the pious

* A town in Seine-and-Marne, about 32 miles N.E. from Paris. It is on a beautiful plain on the river Marne. It was included within the "Isle of France."

† *Pauculis Libellis.*

labors of the first Reformers of the sixteenth century. "Already," said Lefevre, in the warmth of his zeal, "the Gospel is winning the hearts of the nobles and the common people, and ere long we shall see it spreading throughout France, and casting down the inventions that men have set up." "Then," replied a monk, "I and all the monks will preach a crusade; we will raise the people; and if the king suffers the preaching of your Gospel we will expel him from his kingdom by his own subjects." This incident gave rise to a persecution which desolated France for nearly two centuries.

Francis then took but little interest in the theological disputations which began to agitate Europe; nor was he well affected towards the doctors of the Sorbonne. In 1519, he had rescued Lefevre from a prosecution instituted against him by the University on a charge of heresy. Briçonnet was arraigned for countenancing the new teachers at Meaux; and although acquitted by the order of the king, he was compelled to issue an ordinance which deprived them of the privilege of preaching. This was dated 12th of April, 1523. The monks were untiring in their efforts to extirpate heresy; and Lefevre was again the chosen victim. A commission appointed by Francis acquitted him. The charges alleged against him were, that "he had recommended to all the faithful the reading of the Holy Scriptures;" that "he had affirmed, whosoever loves not the word of Christ is no Christian;" that "he had maintained, the word of God is sufficient of itself to lead us to eternal life."

Berquin was one of the wits of the court, but a man of high literary attainments. The vices of the clergy were frequently the subjects of his sarcasms. This privilege he indulged in with impunity while a faithful son of the Church. But the preaching of the word had touched his heart; and immediately he was marked out by the doctors of the Sorbonne, who had felt the pungency of his satires, as an object of their vengeance. "He asserts," they said, "that it is wrong to invoke the Virgin Mary in place of the Holy Spirit, and to call her the source of all grace. He censures the custom of speaking of her as our hope and our life; and affirms that the titles belong only to the Son of God." Beda, the syndic of the University, under an authority from the Parliament, with his satellites forcible entered the chamber of Berquin. His books, principally the writings of the Reformers,

were seized and condemned to be burnt. He was arraigned before the Parliament, convicted of heresy, and delivered to the Bishop of Paris for final adjudication and punishment. Francis, however, embraced the occasion of again frustrating the designs of the Sorbonne, and peremptorily commanded his release. "If you meet with any resistance," said the king to the officer charged with the execution of the order, "I authorize you to break open the doors of the prison."

The spirit of persecution was now aroused with renewed zeal against the Reformation. The obstacles which had been interposed by the king to arrest the execution of those convicted of heresy, inflamed still more the vindictive passions of the Popish minions. They sought an humbler object on whom they hoped to wreak their vengeance. John Leclerc, a wool-carder of Meaux, had attracted their attention by his zeal in the cause of the Gospel. At length he boldly proclaimed the Pope to be the Antichrist whom the Lord would consume with the spirit of his mouth. He was arrested, tried, and convicted. On three successive days he was severely flogged through the streets; and on the third day he was branded on his forehead with a red hot iron, as a heretic, and banished from the city. This was the first act of personal violence committed for the suppression of heresy; and in the month of April, 1523, we may date the beginning of a long series of cruelties which were inflicted upon the Reformers in France.

The preachers of the Gospel were driven out of Meaux. Brignonnet had swerved from the faith, and no longer extended to them his protection. Farel returned to Paris; but the vigilance and unwearied pursuit of his enemies, compelled him to seek a refuge in a distant province of the kingdom, and he retired to Dauphiny. The valley of Fraissiniere had been the scene of a most relentless persecution of the Waldenses at the close of the preceding century. At the time when this interesting section of country was ravaged with fire and sword by the Papal forces, under the banner of a Franciscan monk, and thirty-four years before the occurrence of the events we now relate, Farel was born under his paternal roof, not far from the ancient town of Gap, and at the foot of the Bayard mountain. There was now a fresh growth of that faith which, having flourished for centuries along the banks of the Durance, the Rhone, and the Isere, the

foot of the oppressor had trodden down. Dauphiny once more heard the reviving sound of the Gospel of salvation; and the spirit of the Reformation sprung up with renewed vigor, when Farel, Anemond de Coct, and Pierre de Seville, visited its peaceful valleys; and the truth was preached again with clearness, purity, and holiness. Anemond went on to Switzerland, and thence to Germany, to communicate with Zwingli and Luther. Farel, through dangers and difficulties, escaped the pursuit of his enemies, and arrived at Basle in the beginning of the year 1524. The refugees from France, who had preceded him, had already formed a French church in that city,* and Farel was joyfully received as a fearless herald of the truth.

The events of the year 1523 form a memorable epoch in the history of the progress of the Reformation in France. On the 9th of June of that year, an edict against heretics was published.† The persecutions in Meaux dispersed the Reformers, and many of them fled to Metz, a city in the province of Lorraine, about two hundred miles east from Paris, and situated at the confluence of the Seille and Moselle. There Leclerc and John Châtelain were the zealous and faithful heralds of the Cross. Metz was becoming the centre of evangelical light. Amid the superstitions which still prevailed, the preaching of the word was heard with attention. On the eve of the festival of the Virgin, Leclerc entered the chapel in which the images of the Virgin and the saints were placed, and breaking them down, he scattered the fragments before the altar. This indiscreet zeal excited the highest indignation of the populace. Leclerc was known to be uncompromising in his denunciations against idolatry, and had boldly condemned the worship of images. He was arrested; and fearlessly declared that he had committed the act in obedience to the command of God, which said: "Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, but thou shalt utterly overthrow them, and quite break down their images." Before his judges he proclaimed Jesus Christ as the only object worthy of our adoration; and heard his sentence of condemnation with Christian fortitude and exultation. His right hand was first cut off. With hot pincers his nose and his arms were torn and lacerated,

* This was the first reformed church organized in the sixteenth century.

† Browning's *History of the Huguenots*, p. 21.

and fire was applied to different parts of his body. Having prolonged his sufferings by slow tortures, until the most savage cruelty was satiated, he was subjected to a flame which gradually consumed his flesh. Thus died the first Christian martyr of the sixteenth century, at the close of the year 1523. But the worshippers of images were not avenged for the profanation of their deities; Châtelain continued to denounce their idolatries. He was an Augustin monk and doctor of theology. He was also convicted; and being stripped of his sacerdotal vestments, the tips of his fingers were scraped, and he was committed to the flames. The voice of the Reformers was for a time silenced in France.

Zwingle continued to preach the Gospel at Einsidlen until 1518. During his pastorship of that church the truths of the Holy Scriptures were widely disseminated. Pilgrims who crowded the chapel of "our Lady of the Eremites," to obtain the remission of their sins, were taught, that "Christ alone saves us, and he saves every where." The worshippers of Baal diminished in number daily; and the offerings at the shrine of the Virgin were made with less devotion and with less faith in the divinity of her image. In 1518, he was invited to Zurich; and was installed, in December of that year, a pastor to officiate in the cathedral of that city. Zwingle was assisted in his spiritual labors by Oswald Myconius, who superintended the cathedral school in Zurich, and had imbibed the true doctrines of the Gospel. On the first day of the following year, he commenced a series of discourses on Matthew; deriving his texts, and giving his expositions, from the Greek version. "In the pulpit," says one of his cotemporaries, "he spared no one, neither pope, nor emperor, nor kings, nor dukes, nor princes, nor lords, not even the confederates." His efforts were blessed by the energies of the Holy Spirit. "This is a preacher of the truth," said his hearers, "and he will be our Moses to lead us out of Egypt."

It was at this time that he received from the hands of a stranger the works of Luther. It appears that at this early period of the Reformation, the distribution of tracts and of the Holy Scriptures, by agents, or colporteurs, had been adopted, to facilitate the progress of the truth. They were sent, not only to the cities, but to the sequestered dwellings of obscure individuals; and thus were its principles widely circulated in remote

sections of country, having no other means of communication with those engaged in the great work of evangelizing the world. Within six years from this time, societies were regularly organized for this purpose.

At the close of the year 1518 the vender of Papal indulgences arrived in the neighborhood of Berne; and having passed through the several cantons, he approached Zurich in the beginning of the following year. Zwingli anticipated his arrival by denouncing this sinful traffic." "They who sell the remission of sins for money, are but companions of Simon the Magician, the friends of Balaam, the ambassadors of Satan. Go, if thou wilt, and buy indulgences. But be assured, that thou art in no wise absolved." Such was the language of the Reformer. But a spiritual light had already beamed on the minds of the people, and the council prohibited the sale. The Pope not long after recalled his agent into Italy, and the transaction was soon forgotten. Rome retreated from the contest, and the cause of evangelical truth triumphed.

While the principles of the Reformation were extending in Zurich, and the efforts of Zwingli were singularly successful in removing the ancient prejudices and superstitions which obstructed the progress of the Gospel, the canton of Lucerne was still in moral darkness. The military spirit of its inhabitants, and the alliances they had formed with other States in the wars of Europe, had introduced among them a foreign influence unfavorable to the advancement of the new doctrines. Here arose the first decided and open hostility to the Reformers in Switzerland. The writings of Luther were read, and every where condemned as seditious and heretical; and Zwingli had himself become unpopular, not only by his preaching, but by his earnest protest against the practice of enlisting as mercenaries in the armies of foreign powers. Lucerne has continued to be one of the most powerful and most zealous of the Popish cantons in Switzerland.

In the year 1521, the war between Charles V. and Francis I. commenced. The cantons of the Confederacy resounded with the martial preparations for the conflict. The emissaries of the Pope and of the King of France were actively engaged in renewing their former alliances with the Swiss. The Reformer endeavored in vain to dissuade his countrymen from drawing the

sword in a cause which involved neither their safety nor their rights. The Zurichers enlisted under the banners of the Pope, who, after having made overtures to Francis, finally determined to sustain the emperor. The Cantons generally allied themselves with France.

But this did not interrupt the spiritual labors of Zwingli. He continued to preach the doctrines of the Gospel, but was still in communion with the Church of Rome, observing its rites, and complying with its established forms of worship. In the year 1522, however, a controversy arose on the obligation of abstaining from flesh during Lent; and then it was that he published his first tract, which brought him more directly in collision with the Popish clergy, and exposed him to the dangers of secret conspiracies against his life. When every stratagem had failed, the ecclesiastical authorities came forward to arrest the farther progress of innovations; and the Bishop of Constance issued a circular, commanding the canons to prohibit the preaching of pernicious doctrines, and calling upon the people to adhere to their ancient faith. Zwingli, in reply, published his "Archeteles," in which, after defending his ground, he remarked: "The downfall of your ceremonies is at hand; be it your care to give their fate what decency you may, and to speed the inevitable transition from darkness to light."

In the mean time a Diet, or Council, of the Helvetic nation decreed, that "all priests should desist from preaching, as their discourses tended to excite dissensions among the people." A Council of Zurich, in compliance with this mandate, enjoined silence on both parties; but Zwingli refused to obey the injunction. "I am bishop and pastor of Zurich," he said; "it is to me that the care of souls has been confided. If I preach any doctrine contrary to the Holy Gospel, then I desire to be rebuked, not only by the chapter, but by any private citizen, and, moreover, to be punished by the council." "We," rejoined the monks, "on our part, demand permission to preach the doctrines of St. Thomas." It was finally determined by the Council "that Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and the other doctors, should be laid aside, and that preachers should confine themselves to the Holy Gospel." Thus were the enemies of the word of God defeated in their purposes, and driven from the authority of the scholastic divines to that of the apostles and prophets.

At this crisis the news was received at Zurich that the French army, under the command of Lautrec, had been signally defeated at the battle of La Bicoque, between Monza and Milan. The troops from the canton of Schweitz (on the lakes of Zug and Lucerne) had suffered most severely. Zwingle embraced the opportunity of urging upon the confederation an absolute withdrawal from all foreign alliances: and his efforts were successful. But such were the mercenary propensities of that warlike people, that they soon after forgot their disasters and their resolution of neutrality, and again took the field under the banners of the French king. The humane efforts of the Reformer, so directly opposed to the policy of the political powers of Europe, excited their indignation, and strengthened the opposition of the European governments to the cause of the Reformation in Switzerland. The Swiss themselves, impelled by a love of lucre, and a natural fondness for war, were offended by his interference, and cherished feelings of animosity toward him. "Wherefore," they asked, "does he concern himself with the political affairs of Switzerland?" Such was the relation in which we may view Zwingle as standing at this period to the political and the ecclesiastical authorities, and with popular prejudices arrayed against him. Zurich alone was steadfast in its attachment to him.

But there were now other laborers in the field. Conrad Schmid addressed an audience in Lucerne, and dared to launch his invectives against the pontiff, in the vernacular of Switzerland. In Berne the Papacy was exposed to popular ridicule by scenic representations and recitatives. Walter Klarer preached the word in Appenzel. The Gospel, ascending to the sources of the Rhine, was heard in the south-east cantons of Switzerland; and from the Tyrol it passed over into Italy.

In July, 1522, an Assembly of Reformers convened at Einsiedlen. They here drew up an Appeal to the bishop of the diocese, and another they addressed to the confederation. In the former, they deplored the ignorance in spiritual matters which prevailed in the Church, through the vices and corruption of the clergy, and feelingly implored their episcopal head to co-operate with them in their efforts to restore it to its primitive purity and holiness. To the confederation, they declared their undiminished attachment to the State. They deplored the evils inflicted upon

the Church of Christ by the tyranny of the Roman Pontiff, and called upon the members of the body-politic to unite in maintaining the authority of God's word, their common faith in the Gospel, and the liberty of conscience.

These proceedings it was foreseen would hasten the crisis which was approaching. The indignation of the monks was excited beyond bounds. The celibacy of the clergy, and the licentiousness which universally prevailed in the ecclesiastical orders, had been severely animadverted on by the Assembly at Einsiedlen. The Reformers had assumed a position which necessarily placed them beyond the pale of the Church. Zwingle, himself of the ecclesiastical order, had recently violated his clerical vow by marrying. The Diet at Lucerne, convened soon after, received from every quarter remonstrances and complaints against the conduct of the Reformers. At that critical period the two appeals were sent to Lucerne, and distributed among the people. Nor was the political excitement less than the feverish feeling which agitated the public mind in these religious controversies. The armies of the empire and of France were still in the battle-field. England had confederated with Charles. Switzerland was again invoked to pour forth its bands of mercenaries, and to enrich the soil of Italy with the blood of her citizens for sordid gold. Was it because the political interests of the moment were not sufficiently complicated that these appeals should now be made? Such was the unfavorable concurrence of events which for a time retarded the advancement of the truth.

In August, the Diet assembled at Baden, urged on by the Bishop of Constance, determined to oppose the innovations of the Reformers by more decided measures than those adopted by the Diet at Lucerne. Oswald Myconius had been deprived of his place as teacher in the public school; and Berthold Haller had been arraigned at Berne, but rescued by the bold defiance of the people. These were yet the only decided demonstrations to suppress the rising heresy.

But the Diet at Baden gave the first evidence of the persecuting spirit which seems to have been restrained alone by the genius of the free institutions of the cantons. "They enjoined the authorities of the baillages to give information against all, whether priests or laymen, who should impugn the established faith."

Urban Weiss, pastor of Filispach, was arrested by their order, and delivered over for punishment to the Bishop of Constance. "In this manner began the confederate States' persecution of the Gospel; and all this happened at the instigation of the clergy, who in all ages have dragged Jesus Christ before the judgment-seats of Herod and Pilate."

About the close of the year 1522, numerous and formidable obstacles combined to check the progress of the Reformation in Switzerland. Popular indignation was excited by adventitious circumstances not immediately connected with the controversy on religion; and this was directed more particularly against Zwingli, as the real or imputed author of the dissensions which agitated the cantons.

Leo Juda, who had succeeded Myconius in the school at Zurich, was not only a disciple of the Reformer, but a zealous defender of his religious principles. His orthodox faith was one day offended by the declaration of an Augustin monk, that man could satisfy Divine justice by his own merits. Leo controverted the doctrine, and a controversy ensued which enlisted the feelings of the audience, and eventually agitated the whole assembly. With a view of composing these differences, Zwingli appeared before the council then convened at Zurich, and requested that he might be permitted to explain his doctrines before the deputies of the bishop. A conference was accordingly held, on the 29th of January, 1523, and he then presented sixty-seven theses. In these he said, that "they who assert that the Gospel is nothing until confirmed to us by the Church, blaspheme God." "That Jesus Christ is the only way of salvation for all who have been, are, or shall be." "That Christians are all the brethren of Christ, and of one another; and they have no *fathers* upon earth. Away, therefore, with religious orders, sects and parties." "That no compulsion should be employed in the case of such as do not acknowledge their error, unless by their seditious conduct they disturb the peace of others." Zwingli, having presented his propositions, stood up, and, laying his hand upon the Bible before him, said: "I have proclaimed that salvation is to be found in Christ alone; and it is for this that, throughout Switzerland, I am charged with being a heretic, a seducer, and rebellious man. Here, then, I stand, in God's name." The enemies of the Gospel were intimidated. Faber, the zealous defender of the Papacy,

who boasted of having convicted the pastor of Filispach, replied, that he was not sent to dispute, but to report. "The Diet of Nuremberg," he said, "has promised a council within one year; we must wait for this assembly." "I can prove the theses of Zwingle," he afterward remarked, "both incompatible with the honor due to the Church, and opposed to the doctrine of Christ: but I will do this in Paris, Friburg or Cologne." When the Reformer declared that he would acknowledge no authority but that of the Gospel—"The Gospel!" exclaimed Faber; "that is always the cry. The Gospel—nothing but the Gospel! Men might lead holy lives in peace and charity if there were no Gospel!" The satellites of the Pope, overawed by the tone of defiance, and shrinking back from the exhibition of the word of God, retreated with ignominy from the contest.

Leo X. had died in December, 1521, and Adrian VI. was now the reigning pontiff. This Pope seems to have been endowed with many redeeming qualities. He saw the abuses which had sprung out of the corrupt morals of the clergy, and the tyranny of the Roman hierarchy, and professed a desire to heal the wounds inflicted upon the Church. To accomplish this he adapted his measures to circumstances. Policy dictated conciliatory expedients to silence the Reformer of Switzerland. His independent bearing, characteristic of that republican spirit which distinguished the inhabitants of those mountain regions and citizens of a free country, could not, he was aware, be humbled by terms of defiance. But his integrity might be tempted. Immediately after the conference, therefore, the captain of the Pope's guard, accompanied by the legate Einsius, waited on Zwingle. In the brief which this papal ambassador delivered, Adrian was pleased to address this stern Reformer, as his "well-beloved son." Overtures of peace were tendered; and promises of favor, and of high and honorable distinctions were solicitously made. "All these will I give thee, and the glory of them; for they are delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will, I give them. If thou therefore wilt worship me, all shall be thine." Such was the humiliating position of a sovereign, who assumed to be the Lord of the Universe. Rome was gratified with the dishonorable triumph of dragging through the streets of Lucerne the effigy of this obstinate heretic. His integrity was above temptation.

The recent victory of Zwingli in the conference of Zurich, gave a renewed impulse to the spirit of Reformation. The images of divine worship were every where in the city prostrated by the hands of the Iconoclasts. The doctrine of the Reformer was now distinguished in that canton by the title of "the evangelical Truth." The people manifested increased zeal in their inquiries; and a public discussion was earnestly called for. Invitations were therefore sent to the several cantons to meet, by their deputies, in Zurich. Schaffhausen and St. Gall complied with the proposal. Underwald responded by a positive refusal. "We have no philosophers among us," said the people, "but kind and pious priests only, who will continue to explain the Gospel as their fathers had done. As for Zwingli, let him fall into our hands, and we will cure him of his inclination for such irregularities."

On the 26th of October, 1523, nine hundred persons assembled. Zwingli, with the Old and New Testaments in Greek before him, addressed the meeting. He referred to the organization of the primitive apostolic Church; showed that it was governed neither by provincial nor by ecumenical councils; maintained that the Popes, with their cardinals and councils, constituted neither a particular, nor "the Universal Church;" that the true Church was a society of believers in Jesus Christ, wherever it might be. "This assembly," he concluded, "which hears me, is the Church of Zurich. It desires to hear the word of God, and can rightfully decree whatever it shall see to be conformable to the Scriptures." Having expatiated fully on the true character of the Church of Christ, he introduced his propositions, touching its rites and doctrines. He first attacked the worship of images. Three hundred and fifty priests were present: but there was nothing said in its defence. He next adverted to the mass, and denied that "it is a sacrifice that can be offered to God by one man for his fellow." When he had closed his address no one replied; and a general acclamation sustained the opinions of Zwingli. "God is with us, my gracious Lords," he said; "He will defend his own cause. Now then, in the name of our God, let us go forward."

The Reformation in the canton of Zurich was consummated. This was a memorable epoch in its history. The emancipation

of the Church from the thralldom of Rome was complete. The ecclesiastical authority of the Bishop of Constance was abrogated. Not only the Bible was again enthroned, but "that liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free" was secured. The Church now looked up through the people, and not the Pope, to God. The city and the villages co-operated in the great work; and the Grand Council sustained the general impulse. Another discussion, in January, 1524, rivetted the people still stronger in their attachment to the religious privileges they enjoyed.

But those cantons which were still entangled with the yoke of bondage, beheld this new order of things in Zurich with embittered feelings. The Diet was assembled at Lucerne. The crisis had arrived; and Popery must now make a desperate struggle to arrest the progress of innovation. In that council Popish bigotry was triumphant; and an edict was passed, prohibiting the preaching of the new doctrines, and any public or private discussion on the subject. Here a system of espionage was erected; and even an unguarded expression might be so represented as to subject the speaker to an inquisitorial process, and to the penalty of the law. Such, in fact, was the practical operation of the edict. A guest, at a public house in Zurzach, incidentally remarked, that "the priests expounded the Holy Scriptures amiss, and that trust should be reposed in God alone." On another occasion, he was asked, what was the religion which the preachers of Zurich taught? "They preach," said Hottinger, who was the guest at Zurzach, "that Christ has offered himself up once only for all believers, and by that one sacrifice has purified and redeemed them from all iniquity; and they prove, by holy Scripture, that the mass is a mere delusion." He was arrested, condemned by the Diet at Lucerne, and executed. Thus was sacrificed, in March, 1524, in the city of Lucerne, the first victim of Popish persecution in Switzerland.

The first blood was now poured out as a libation on the altar of Popish bigotry; a suitable offering to appease the anger of the dethroned deities, whom the Zurichers, with wicked hands, had precipitated from their ancient pedestals. The spirit of fanaticism was aroused; and the Reformation must be rolled back. A deputation from the Diet was sent to Zurich to exact from the citizens and the council a renunciation

of their new faith. But so far from yielding to this demand, they were resolved to go onward in the work. The annual procession of cross-bearers to Einsidlen to worship the image of the Virgin was this year prohibited. Relics, wherever found, were decently interred. Images and crosses were taken down; and paintings, intended as objects of superstitious reverence, were effaced. The churches throughout the canton were thoroughly purified of all the foul stains of Romish idolatry. The organs were removed, as instruments which had been used in idolatrous worship. The rite of baptism was instituted anew, under forms more consistent with the prescription of Holy Writ. These changes were made by the suggestions of Zwingli, and under his direction. That bold Reformer proceeded on the principle that nothing should be tolerated which had not the direct and positive sanction of the Scriptures. His model in the government and ordinances of the Church was that left by the apostles; his rule of faith was the Bible in its original Greek version.

The spirit of Reformation diffused itself through all the domestic associations. The families of the peasants became schools for spiritual instruction. The Bible was the companion of the social hearth. When the council called upon the citizens to say whether they were prepared to endure all things for Christ, the general response was—"Only let our magistrates hold fast and fearlessly to the word of God, we will help them to maintain it: and if any shall seek to molest them, we will come, like brave and loyal citizens, to their aid." But Zwingli, with his reliance on God alone, gave a tone and character to the religious principles which were deeply implanted in the bosoms of all. He gave a direction to the general impulse. All spiritual matters came under his cognizance. The superintendence of the several churches was confided in him. He was the Apostle of Zurich.

But the Christians of Zurich were in the midst of idolatrous nations. Their progress in religious reformation was beheld with apprehensions by the pontiff, and with fearful forebodings by the clergy, debased by their ignorance and their vices. The spirit of Popery became restless under this triumph of Gospel truth. Clement VII. had succeeded Adrian. His administration was marked by an uncompromising temper; and by mea-

asures of an unrelaxing severity against all who disobeyed the Papal mandates, or rejected the established doctrines of the Church. On the 18th of April, 1524, he addressed a Brief to the Confederates; and, in obedience to his order, the Diet assembled at Zug in July.

The new doctrines had been favorably received in some of the cantons, and rejected by others. Clement determined to direct these discordant opinions to his own advantage, and by intrigue and skillful diplomacy to effect what he had feared to attempt by bold and decided measures. The Diet at Zug, influenced by his persuasions, announced to the cantons of Zurich, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, their determination to extirpate heresy out of the confederation by the severest penalties, and threatened the infliction of capital punishment on the recusant and disobedient. By this artifice the pontiff designed to array the members of the Confederacy against each other, and by this division to overcome the weaker party, and reduce them to subjection.

The apprehension soon after of the pastor of Burg, a village on the Rhine, on a charge of heresy, led to the most fearful consequences. In the general commotion and excitement which arose from this act of violence, the convent of Ittingen was destroyed by fire. This occurrence created in the Diet an intense feeling of indignation, and under its impulse they resolved to proceed to Stein and Stammheim, and to put to the sword the inhabitants, who were supposed to have been the actors in the riotous scenes at Ittingen. Three individuals were eventually selected as the abettors in the efforts made to rescue the pastor of Burg from the soldiers of the bailiff. They were demanded of the deputies of Zurich, within whose jurisdiction the offence had been committed, and forcibly conducted to Baden. Under a judgment pronounced against them by the deputies of Berne, Lucerne, Uri, Schwitz, Underwald, Zug, Glaris, Friburg, and Soleure, they were beheaded, after having been cruelly tortured by their Popish persecutors. This second execution of Swiss martyrs, in the defence of the Gospel, occurred in September of the year 1525, by the instigation of the emissaries of the pontiff.

It has been wisely remarked by Lord Bacon, that "there is

no better way to stop the rise of new sects and schisms, than to reform abuses, compound the lesser differences, proceed mildly from the first, refrain from sanguinary persecutions, and rather to soften and win the principal leaders by gracing and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness." Clement, in disregard of the dictates of reason and of humanity, had now determined upon a course of measures having for their object the subjugation of the human mind to the control of a corrupt system of spiritual tyranny; and the result has proved that power, however strongly fortified, cannot bend to its purposes the intellect enlightened by truth and conscious of its native energies. The measures of coercion, designed to extirpate heresy, raised up more zealous and more determined advocates in defence of its doctrines.

The Reformed Church of Zurich now rose in the majesty of its strength. There yet remained in it one vestige of the superstition of Popery—the abomination of the Mass—and this it now cast out, and deposited in the tomb of the relics. Deep-rooted prejudices were yet disposed to cling to an error, which the Scriptures condemned, and the senses pointed out as absurd. The corporeal presence of Christ in the consecrated elements—the conversion of the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper into the real body and blood of Christ—was declared a mere mockery of a religious rite, and Zurich at once disentangled itself from this profane mystery. To the clear exposition of this solemn ordinance, drawn from the word of God, by Zwingli, the Church was indebted for its full and complete emancipation from the spiritual thralldom of Antichrist. The Reformation was now placing itself upon that platform of faith which the Vaudois, four hundred years before, had laid down as the foundation of their Church. They then declared "the Mass to be impious;" and "the Sacraments (Baptism and the Supper of the Lord) as signs only of holy things; or as the visible emblems of invisible blessings."

The new doctrines (as they were improperly called) were not received with equal readiness in the several cantons of Switzerland. In Berne the parties were at this time of equal strength; but an advantage was unconsciously given to the Reformers by an ordinance of the government restricting the preachers to the Holy Scriptures, and prohibiting them from

referring for their doctrines to human authorities. The progress of the truth was soon visible ; and even the monasteries began to receive the light. Sebastian Meyer, lecturer of the Franciscans, abjured his errors. In his recantation he thus describes those nurseries* of licentiousness and vice—"The living in them is more impure, the falls more frequent, the recoveries more tardy, the habitual walk more unsteady, the moral slumber in them more dangerous, the grace towards offenders more rare, and the cleansing from sin more slow, the death more despairing, and the condemnation more severe." The Romish priests still maintained that "Christ had not made satisfaction, once for all, to the Father. God must still further, every day, be reconciled to men by good works and the sacrifice of the Mass." The controversy at length became so frequent and angry between the parties, that the principal disputants were dismissed from Berne by the civil authorities. This city was distinguished for a refinement of manners ; as in it resided families of wealth and noble birth. Subsequent events, however, favored the cause of the Reformation ; and the canton of Berne united with Zurich in faith.

Basle, the capital of the canton of the same name, was at this

* In the Appendix to the American edition of McGavin's Protestant, the editor remarks, "That a system so incongenial with all the boasted theories and institutions of our civic palladium should be adopted and patronized in *this republic*, is one of the most remarkable anomalies of modern times"—"The gloomy external of those doleful mansions well comport with the dark contrivances of iniquity which are ever perpetrated in the interior—and the grates and bars all bespeak the death-like living sepulchre in which those children of crime and misery are entombed, until the resistless messenger commands them to return to the dust, frequently by murder, &c."—"In the nunnery the priest reigns absolute monarch ; and as he is selected expressly on account of female partiality for him, of course he rules with undisputed sway, and every nun is his voluntary and faithful vassal, the tool of his orders, and the pander to his sensuality." "The picture of female convents," says Blanco White, "requires a delicate pencil ; yet I cannot find tints sufficiently dark and gloomy to portray the miseries which I have witnessed in their inmates. Crime, *indeed*, makes its way into those recesses, in spite of the spiked walls and prison gates which protect the inhabitants. This I know with all the certainty which the self-accusation of the guilty can give." "Let no professed nun," says a decree of the Council of Trent, "come out of her monastery under any pretext whatever ; not even for a moment." "Nothing short of rebellion," says White, "against the Church that has burnt the mark of slavery into her soul can liberate an English [and we may add an American] nun."

time a seat of learning. A University was founded here in 1459; and here the celebrated Erasmus had fixed his residence. At the close of the year 1522, Œcolampadius removed to this city. In the month of May, 1526, a conference took place between Eckius and Œcolampadius, at Baden; after which both the cantons of Berne and Basle took decided part with the Reformation.

Zurich had, before this period, been excluded from the Diet by the cantons which adhered to Rome. In the beginning of the year 1527, an assembly was convened within its capital. Berne, Basle, Schaffhausen, Appenzel, and Saint Gall, were represented by their respective deputies; and thus commenced an affiliation of those several cantons, which distinguished them from the other cantons maintaining the Popish religion.*

* The Popery of the three forest cantons (Uri, Schwitz, and Unterwalden) was an anomaly in ecclesiastical history. Here the spirit of political freedom breathed with a fervid enthusiasm. This inconsistency of character may be attributed, in the first instance, to local circumstances. The country was poor, and little had been exacted by Papal avarice; these brave mountaineers had therefore felt but little of Papal oppression. Moral causes also had their influence. They were lamentably ignorant; and therefore superstitiously servile to their priests. Their early heroic achievements had been perpetuated in memory by the erection of Popish chapels, and hence arose an association of political and religious sentiments, which mutually hallowed each other in the minds of those Swiss.

CHAPTER IV.

WE must now revert to the progress of events in Germany. Luther, at the close of the year 1519, was still in a defensive position in his controversy with the pontiff. But dangers were multiplying around him. The declaration was publicly made by the bigoted priesthood, that "whosoever should kill him would be without sin." The Universities of Cologne and of Louvain had condemned his works. The Elector Frederick was called on, in a language stronger than that of solicitation, to withdraw from him his protection.* Eckius, after the conference at Leipsic, had gone to Rome, and in a league with the Dominicans, was urging upon Leo to thunder against him the anathemas of the Church. The pontiff was perplexed: "The doctrine of Luther," said the Elector in a letter to him, "has taken deep root in many hearts. If, instead of refuting it by the testimony of the Bible, attempts are made to crush it by the thunders of the Church, great offence will be occasioned, and terrible and dangerous rebellions will be excited."

But while the danger became more imminent, and the crisis approached when the struggle must be brought to an issue, Luther received renewed assurances of protection, and encouragements to await that issue with an unwavering resolution of purpose. "Your life is in danger," wrote the powerful Knight of Franconia, Sylvester Schaumberg, "If the assistance of the electors, of the princes, or of the magistrates, should fail you, beware, I entreat you, of seeking refuge in Bohemia, where

* Frederick's protection of Luther was, at first, from political motives, and from his estimation of his character as a man of learning.

learned men have formerly had so much to endure ; come rather to me. I shall soon, God willing, have collected above a hundred gentlemen, and with their help, I shall be able to preserve you from all perils." Francis of Sickingen, who ranked as one of the heroes of the age, assured him that his services, his possessions, and his person, would be at his disposal. "You are resolved," he wrote to Luther, "to stand up for the truth of the Gospel—I am ready to lend you my aid in that work." Such were the assurances he received. He had hitherto contended alone. His conflicts had been with the doctors. But the material sword of the Papacy would soon be unsheathed—the *ultima ratio regum*—and the Reformer, it was evident, must rest his defence upon a more substantial weapon than the syllogism of the schools—a defence, not of the truth of God's word, but of his personal liberty and life.

Although Luther appears at this period to have been determined in his opposition to the authority of the Pope, his writings exhibit a vacillation of mind on the rites and doctrines of the Church. He never did, indeed, divest himself of all the prejudices imbibed in the immaturity of his age. In the mysteries of the eucharist, his views at this time were clearer and more orthodox than they were afterward. "There are three things," he said, "which are to be understood in the holy sacrament of the altar—the sign, which must be external, visible, and under a corporeal form ; the thing signified, which is internal, spiritual, and within the soul of man ; and faith, which uses both." Had he adhered to this opinion the unfortunate division which weakened the cause of the Reformation would probably not have occurred. His principle appears to have been, to acquiesce in the established rites not positively forbidden by the Scriptures ; and this was the point of divergence from which he and Zwingli separated. He never, therefore, thoroughly rejected all the absurdities and superstitions of the mass. The doctrine of "the real presence," as maintained by the Romish Church, he merely qualified—the participation of the sacrament in both kinds he did not believe to be essential, if believers could receive the bread alone in faith—and with an apparent assent to the custom of elevating the host, he asked, where it had been forbidden by Christ ? These were undoubtedly the weak points in the character of Luther ; and both Farel and Zwingli were more

decided than the German Reformer in their opposition to the rites and forms of worship of the Papal Church. It would appear from his writings that he was not altogether averse to the use of images, as having a tendency to excite devotional feelings in the exercise of worship. In the fundamental doctrine, however, of Justification by Faith, he was equally orthodox with the French and Swiss Reformers who preceded him.

In the beginning of the year 1520, he wrote his treatise on "Good Works," which he dedicated to Duke John, the brother of the elector. In this discourse he maintains, that evangelical obedience—the only good work acceptable to God—can proceed from faith in Christ alone; and shows that, agreeably to the Scriptures, works are devoid of vitality and godliness unless they are the immediate and direct results of a living and spiritual faith: thus harmonizing the doctrines taught by the Apostles Paul and James.

In June, the pontiff, induced by the evil counsels of his advisers, issued out a bull of excommunication against Luther, in which forty-one alleged heresies were enumerated; his writings condemned to be burned; and he was required to retract his errors, and to throw himself upon the favor and tenderness of his ghostly Father. About the same time Luther published an "Appeal to his Imperial Majesty and the Christian nobility of the German nation, concerning the Reformation of Christianity." In this address he alluded to the unsuccessful attempts, by the predecessors of Charles, to restrict the Papal prerogatives, and to reform the corruptions of the Church; and to the artifices which had been resorted to by the pontiffs to defeat those efforts by insisting upon the pre-eminence of the spiritual over the temporal power, the exclusive prerogative of the ecclesiastical head to interpret the word of God, and upon its superiority over the councils. He denied that, as spiritual members, the laity were inferior to the clergy, and had not equally with them ecclesiastical rights and privileges. "All are alike consecrated priests," he said, "by baptism"—and are distinguished by their several peculiar functions only. "They all belong to the same estate, but all have not the same work to perform." He maintained that one Order possessed no legitimate control over the other, but within the sphere of its appropriate jurisdiction. He adverted to the exorbitant powers concentrated in the Pope, and

contrasts his wealth, distinctions, and authority, with the poverty, the lowliness, and unassuming pretensions, of the Apostles. He depicted the deplorable condition of the Church, and the demoralized state of society, by reason of the exactions of the pontiff and the profligacy of the clergy. He warned the political authorities of Germany against the machinations of Rome to establish within the empire a system of spiritual tyranny and oppression. Antichrist aspires, he said, to universal dominion, and will not be satisfied with less than the treasures of the world. "Shall we Germans," he concluded, "endure these robberies and extortions of the Pope? And oh! would that they robbed us only of our goods: but they also lay waste the churches; they fleece the sheep of Christ, abolish the worship, and silence the word of God." He enumerated the various pretexts through which the riches of the kingdoms of Europe were transferred to the coffers of the Vatican; such as, the annats, the commendams, the reserves, the administrations, &c., &c. As highway robbers are executed to satisfy the vindictive justice of the law—so the Pope, the greatest of robbers and thieves, and that too in the names of St. Peter and of Jesus Christ, should not escape the retributive vengeance of law. "They take our money, and for what? For legalizing ill-gotten gains—for dissolving the sacredness of oaths—for teaching us to break faith—for instructing us in sin, and leading us directly to hell. Hear this, O Pope! not 'most holy,' but most sinning! May God, from his throne on high, hurl thy throne ere long to the bottomless pit."

Luther seems to have considered the issue of the controversy between the pontiff and himself as finally made up: and that there could no longer be a hope of safety, in abandoning his ground, or in proffers of neutrality. "Again and again," he said, "I have offered peace to my adversaries. But God has, by their own instruments, compelled me continually to uplift a louder and a louder voice against them." In the address to which we have alluded, he probed the vices and corruptions of the clergy—particularly of the "vagabonding mendicant friars"—to the quick. He exposed the practice of concubinage, so universally prevalent among all orders of the Romish priesthood. Nor did the Universities—so generally, at that period, subservient to the will of the pontiff, and exercising a commanding influence over

the public mind—escape the severity of his animadversions. He now extended his views over the whole ground; and the system of reform was submitted to the nations of Europe; and all Christendom was called on to sustain it, and with it their religious liberties and the rights of conscience.

Soon after the publication of the appeal, the Papal bull, which had been prepared in the Vatican seven days before, reached Germany. “Arise, O Lord!” said the solemn voice from Rome, “arise, and remember the reproaches wherewith fools reproach thee all day long, Arise, O Peter! remember thy holy Roman Church, mother of all the Churches, and mistress of the faith. Arise, O Paul! for a new Porphyry is here attacking thy doctrines, and the holy Popes, our predecessors. Finally, arise, O assembly of all the saints! holy Church of God! and intercede for us with God Almighty.” The pontiff, having concluded his invocations, proceeded to condemn as heretical and pernicious forty-one propositions of Luther.

The bull of Leo presents a faithful exposition of the Romish doctrines, and affords authoritative evidence of the fatal errors of that Church, of which he assumed to be the head as vicar of Jesus Christ. The Reformer was denounced for having maintained, that “a man’s sins are not pardoned, unless he believes that they are pardoned, when the priest pronounces absolution”—that “a new life is the best and highest penitence”—that “to burn heretics is contrary to the will of the Holy Spirit,” &c. The thunder-bolt was suspended for sixty days, after the publication of this judicial sentence by the Papal court; “Imitating, says the Pope, the goodness of God Almighty, we are ready to receive him again into the bosom of the Church.” Repentance and submission could alone shield him from the awful fulminations which were already resounding in distant peals over his devoted head. But he remained firm to his purpose, and undaunted by the threatened denunciations.

In October appeared his treatise* entitled “The Babylonian

* The attack made by Luther in this tract on the schoolmen, brought out against him a royal theologian. In 1521, Henry VIII. published, in answer to it, his “Defence of the Seven Sacraments;” which he dedicated to the Pope. Leo declared that it was a work dictated by the Spirit of God, and conferred on the king the title of “Defender of the Faith.” It is believed, however, and on good authority, that Henry was not the author of that “Defence.”

Captivity of the Church." His courage seemed now commensurate with the dangers which multiplied around him. "Two years ago," he said, "I attacked indulgences; but with such faltering indecision that I am now ashamed of it. It is not, however, to be wondered at; for then I had to roll forward the rock by myself." He adverted to other doubting opinions he had advanced, and retracted whatever he had conceded as to the human right of the Pope to exercise supreme power over the Church. He admitted but three ordinances as sacraments—the Lord's Supper, Baptism, and Penitence. He affirmed that, in the sight of God, the spirituality of all believers, whether laymen or ecclesiastics, was equally acceptable. Justification by faith, he contended, was the only strong basis upon which the Church could securely stand. "God," he said, "esteems all things according to the faith whence they proceed."

While the emissaries of the Pope were using every effort to overwhelm the Reformer by all the appliances which artifice or daring effrontery could control, he calmly surveyed the ground he occupied. He saw the perils which awaited his progress, and was well aware that he could now neither recede with safety, nor be inactive, without yielding to his adversaries the strong positions of attack. The political agitations which soon after convulsed the States of Europe were already discernible in the current of events, but Luther stood prominent on the great theatre of human action; and potentates and princes sunk into insignificance before the eyes of Christendom, while he appeared the unprotected and devoted victim of Papal vengeance, already set apart and bound for the sacrifice.

The sentence of excommunication was pronounced; the Reformer, for heresy and contumacy, was declared to be out of the pale of the Church; the secular arm was called on to execute the judgment of the high spiritual court; and the emperor was solemnly warned that the protection of the ancient religion had been confided in him. His books had been condemned and burned; but "these fires," said the Pope's nuncio, "are not sufficient to purify the pestilential atmosphere of Germany. Though they may strike terror into the simple-minded, they leave the authors of the mischief unpunished. We must have an imperial edict, sentencing Luther to death."

On the 4th of November, Luther published his treatise

"against the bull of Antichrist," in which he alludes to the many abuses introduced into the Church under cover of the Pope's infallibility ; "How many souls," he says, "have been thus lost ! how much blood shed ! how many murders committed ! how many kingdoms laid waste !" He expresses his contempt for the folly and the malice of his enemies, and his trust in that divine favor which would shield him from the attacks of both men and devils.

On the 17th of November he made a solemn appeal from the sentence of the Papal court to the judgment of a General Council. "I appeal," he said, "from Leo, as an unjust, hasty, and oppressive judge ; as a heretic and apostate, misguided, hardened, and condemned by Holy Writ ; as an enemy, an Antichrist, an adversary of the Scriptures, and a usurper of their authority ; and lastly, as a contemner, a calumniator, a blasphemer of the Holy Christian Church, and of every free council." He called upon the potentates and princes of Europe, and all the civil authorities, to sustain his appeal, to resist the Antichristian proceedings of the Pope, and to protect the Church from his tyranny and usurpations ; and absolved himself from all responsibility for the evils which might result from their obsequiousness to so impious a man. Thus was Luther, by a voluntary act, separated from the Romish Church. But he did not stop here. On the 10th of December, in the presence of a multitude of people of all orders and classes, he committed to the flames "the Papal Bull, the Canon-Law, the Decretals, the Clementines, the Extravagants of the Popes, and a portion of the works of Eckius and Emser."

Luther, by these decided measures, declared his separation from the Popish Church ; but not from the Church-Universal. The Papacy, he contended, was an excrescence of the Church of Christ : it was not a part of its constitution, was not known in its primitive organization, but was a foreign power, which insensibly grew up in ages of superstition and ignorance, and attached itself to the ecclesiastical body, which, by its corrupting influences, it overshadowed and brought into subjection. He appealed to a council which he believed to be a true representation of the Church. This distinction, it will be perceived, struck at the root of Popery, but did not affect the integrity or character of the Church divested of this supplemental and extraneous

power. He denied, therefore, that the Pope was the legitimate head, but insisted that he was a usurper : that "he had entered not by the door into the sheepfold, but, as a thief and a robber, had climbed up some other way."

In January, 1521, a second bull of excommunication was issued from the Vatican. It was now evident that the Papal arm was paralyzed. A mandate had already gone forth, and its thunders had exploded harmlessly. The friends of Luther acquired renewed strength, and he, too, assumed a more decided tone. Luther had appealed from the Pope, and popular sentiment sustained him. Another tribunal than that of Rome must pronounce his condemnation. And for this purpose a Diet of the empire was convened at Worms, on the west side of the Rhine.

The Diet was composed not only of princes of the empire, but also of archbishops, bishops, and certain abbots, and was therefore a provincial council, which, by the ancient canon-law, had jurisdiction in causes like that of Luther. It was evident, soon after the assembling of the Diet, that the discussions would be conducted by angry and discordant feelings, and that there could be little hope of a satisfactory adjustment of the disorders and controversies which agitated the empire. Its jurisdiction extended to political as well as to ecclesiastical affairs. There were questions regarding the internal polity of Germany—such as a settlement of the constitutional power of the Imperial Chamber, and the appointment of a council of regency—which, it was expected, would be submitted to the deliberations of the Diet. Charles had but recently ascended to the imperial throne, and the general policy of his administration was not yet matured. But the most serious difficulties which presented themselves arose out of the religious differences which divided the component parts of the Assembly. The Elector Frederick, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, were the most powerful protectors of the Reformer, and many of the princes and noblemen were either avowed or secret friends of the new doctrines. The strength of the Papal party was moreover weakened by the popular voice which had been raised against the abuses in the Church. Thus, while the emperor, on the one hand, manifested a disposition to yield to the importunities of the Pope's nuncio, to enforce at once the sentence of excommunication against

Luther ; the elector, on the other, as constantly insisted upon its suspension, until he was formally condemned by the Diet. Charles was compelled to yield to these influences ; and Alexander, the nuncio, was called on to prefer his charges, and to maintain them. "Convince the Diet," said the emperor ; and Luther was thus saved.

The nuncio addressed the Assembly in an elaborate speech, in which he enumerated the heretical doctrines of the Reformer. He charged him with having maintained, that without evangelical repentance no one can worthily partake of the Lord's Supper ; that without faith the recipient of baptism can derive no spiritual benefit ; that good works, of themselves, cannot justify the sinner before God ; that all are by nature sinners, and cannot by their own power yield a perfect obedience to the law, &c. &c. "He sins against the dead," said Alexander, "for he denies the existence of purgatory. He sins against heaven, for he says he would not believe an angel sent from heaven. He sins against the Church, for he maintains that all Christians are priests. He sins against the saints, for he treats their venerable writings with contempt. He sins against councils, for he calls the Council of Constance an assembly of devils. He sins against the secular power, for he forbids the punishment of death to be inflicted on any one who has not committed a mortal sin." He then adverted to the conduct of Luther toward the pontiff, and appealed to the emperor to protect the religion of his ancestors. "Discharge the duty," he said, "that properly devolves upon you. Let Luther's doctrines be proscribed by your authority throughout the empire ; let his writings be everywhere committed to the flames. Shrink not from the path of justice. There is enough in the errors of Luther to warrant the burning of a hundred thousand heretics." Such was the insatiable thirst which raged in the bosoms of the Papists for the blood of the Reformer. Their indignation knew no bounds when they discovered that a powerful arm was interposed to snatch him from the flames of an auto da fé.

The nuncio had spoken, and the effect of his eloquent appeal, for a time, seemed fatal to Luther. But it was transitory. The justness of his cause again presented itself in its wonted strength. All admitted the necessity of a reform ; all felt the grievances from Papal usurpations ; and even those who had not assented

to his spiritual doctrines were apprehensive that, by surrendering him into the hands of his enemies, they would at the same time sacrifice a cause in which they were deeply interested. Hence it was that Duke George of Saxony, grandson of George Podiebrad, king of Bohemia,* (although personally inimical to Luther,) remarked, after Aleander had concluded his address: "The Diet must not lose sight of the grievances of which it has to claim redress from the court of Rome." "How numerous," he continued, "are the abuses that have crept into our dominion! The annats, which the emperor granted of his free will for the good of religion, now exacted as a due; the Roman courtiers daily inventing new regulations to favor the monopoly, the sale, the leasing out of ecclesiastical benefices; a multitude of offences connived at; a scandalous toleration granted to rich offenders, while those who have not wherewithal to purchase impunity are severely punished; the Popes continually bestowing reversions and rent charges on the officers of their palace, to the prejudice of those to whom the benefices rightfully belong; the abbeyes and convents of Rome given in commendam to cardinals, bishops, and prelates, who apply their revenues to their own use, so that in many convents where there ought to be twenty or thirty monks, not one is to be found; stations multiplied to excess; shops for indulgences opened in every street and square of our cities; shops of St. Anthony, of the Holy Ghost, of St. Hubert, of St. Vincent, and I know not how many more; societies contracting at Rome for the privilege of setting up this trade, then purchasing from their bishop the right of exposing their merchandise to sale; and finally, to meet all this outlay of money, squeezing and draining the last coin out of the poor man's purse, indulgences, which ought to be granted only with a view to the salvation of souls, and procured only by prayer and fasting, and works of charity, sold for a price; the officials of the bishops oppressing men of low degree with penances for blasphemy, or adultery, or drunkenness, or profanation of this or that festival—but never addressing so much as a re-

* Duke George was of the youngest branch of the Saxon family surnamed Albertine. His grandfather was governor of the kingdom of Bohemia, during the minority of Wladislaus IV. After the death of Wladislaus, he usurped the throne, and retained it by the assistance of the Hussites.

buke to ecclesiastics who are guilty of the same crimes ; penances so devised as to betray the penitent into a repetition of his offence, in order that more money may be exacted from him. These," said the duke, "are but a few of the abuses which cry out on Rome for redress. All shame is laid aside, and one object alone incessantly pursued—money ! evermore money ! so that the very men whose duty it is to disseminate the truth are engaged in nothing but the propagation of falsehood ; and yet they are not merely tolerated, but rewarded, because, the more they lie the larger are their gains. This is the foul source from which so many corrupted streams flow out on every side. Profligacy and avarice go hand in hand. The officials summon women to their houses on various pretences, and endeavor, either by threats or by presents, to seduce them ; and if the attempt fails, they ruin their reputation. Oh ! it is the scandal occasioned by the clergy that plunges so many poor souls into everlasting perdition. A thorough reform must be effected. To accomplish that reform a general council must be assembled. Wherefore, most excellent princes and lords, I respectfully beseech you to give this matter your immediate attention."

Such was the language of one devotedly attached to the Romish Church, and inimical to Luther.* At the conclusion of his remarks, he presented to the Diet a catalogue of the grievances he had referred to. His example was followed by others ; and the ecclesiastical princes countenanced the charges against the Papal court, by their remonstrances against its corrupt disposal of preferments, and their public censure of the pontiff, as a man "occupied only with pleasure and the chase." A committee, appointed by the Diet, reported to that body one hundred and one grievances which demanded immediate redress. "What a loss of Christian souls," said this deputation of secular and ecclesiastical princes, "what injustice, what extortion are the daily fruits of those scandalous practices to which the spiritual head of Christendom affords his countenance. The ruin and dishonor of our nation must be averted. We therefore very hum-

* When, in the Leipsic controversy, in 1519, Luther declared, that "it is not necessary to salvation that we should believe the Roman Church superior to others," the duke, in great indignation, loudly exclaimed, "He is mad !" and always afterward seemed to cherish unfriendly feelings towards the Reformer.

bly, but very urgently, beseech you (addressing themselves to the emperor) to sanction a general reformation—to undertake the work, and to carry it through.”

It was with this spirit that the Diet determined to summon Luther to appear in person, and to demand of him either a retraction of his doctrines, or a public avowal of such as were contained in the writings imputed to him. Accordingly, on the 6th of March, 1521, the emperor affixed his signature to the summons, requiring Luther, within the space of twenty-one days from the date of his safe-conduct, to present himself before the Diet. On the 16th of April he entered the city of Worms, attended by one hundred nobles and gentlemen, who met him as he approached the suburbs. The imperial herald preceded him, and immense crowds occupied the streets through which he passed.

The appearance of Luther was unexpected ; and unwelcome to the Popish party. The emperor was perplexed. “Luther is come,” he said to his council, “and what must we do ?” “We have long thought of this matter,” replied the Bishop of Palermo and Chancellor of Flanders. “Let your majesty rid yourself at once of this man. Did not Sigismund bring Huss to the stake ? One is under no obligation either to give or to observe a safe-conduct in the case of heretics.” Luther had now placed himself within the power of his most bitter enemies. The elector, aware of the intrigues and machinations of the Papal party to secure their victim, should he have the temerity to appear at the Diet, had endeavored, through his confidential adviser, Spalatin, to dissuade him from obeying the imperial summons. His reply was : “If there were as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the roofs of the houses, I would go !” As he approached the city he was met by Martin Bucer,* who delivered to him an invitation from Glassio, the emperor’s confessor, to meet him at the residence of one of Luther’s friends. “He desires a conference with you,” said Bucer. “His influence with Charles is unbound-

* Bucer, a native of Alsace, at an early age assumed the habit of the Order of St. Dominic. He was converted by reading the works of Luther, but adopted the opinions of Zwingle. He first planted the doctrines of the Reformation in Strasburg. In 1549, he was appointed a teacher of theology in the University of Cambridge, England. In the reign of Queen Mary, his body was exhumed and publicly burned, and his tomb was demolished.

ed. Every thing may yet be arranged." "I will go on, Luther, without hesitation; "and if the emperor's confess any thing to say to me, he will find me at Worms."

Charles magnanimously rejected the advice of the Bishop of Palermo to disregard the faith of his safe-conduct, and condemn the Reformer to the flames without a hearing; and formally ordered him, by the Marshal of the Empire, to appear in the afternoon of the 17th before the Diet. At the hour appointed he entered the hall of the Council, accompanied by the Marshal and a company of imperial guards. At the door he passed a valiant and brave knight of the empire, who touched him on the shoulder, and encouragingly whispered to him to go forward, in God's name fear nothing. The emperor, his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, six electors, twenty-four dukes, eight margraves, archbishops, bishops and prelates, seven ambassadors from the highest courts in Europe, the deputies of ten cities, and prelates, counts and barons, of the first rank, occupied their seats and awaited the appearance of the Reformer. The Pope's Nuncio and John Eckius, Chancellor of the Archbishop of Treves, were also in attendance on the Council. "Say nothing," said the Marshal to Luther, as he advanced to the place assigned him in front of the imperial throne, "until a question is put to you."

John Eckius, with due solemnity, addressed the Reformer when silence was restored in the assembly. First in Latin and then in German, he proposed two questions to him: First, Whether he acknowledged that he had written the works before mentioned, pointing to twenty volumes on a table in the centre of the hall; and secondly, Whether he would retract the doctrines contained in them? Their several titles were then read by the chancellor. Luther replied by avowing himself the author, but besought the Council that they would allow him time to reflect on the answer he should make to the question of retraction. This was consented to him, on the condition that he would reply in person, and not by writing.

On the following day the chancellor recapitulated the proceedings of the previous meeting, and, turning to Luther, with solemn emphasis said: "Now, therefore, answer the inquiry of his majesty, who has manifested so much indulgence. Are you prepared to defend all that your writings contain; or do you wish to retract any part of them?" In a meek and humble

but with a spirit of firmness and decision, Luther gave a brief summary of the important subjects he had discussed in his published works, and admitted that there might be in them personal allusions which were marked with severity, but as they were justified by the impieties of his opponents, he would neither qualify nor withdraw them. As to the doctrines he had maintained, he said that he would willingly retract whatever he had written when convinced of his error by the word of God; and concluded by imploring the protection of the Diet from the malevolence of his enemies. The chancellor then remarked to him that he had said much that was irrelevant, and that no more was required of him than a distinct and emphatic reply to the question, whether you will or will not retract? Luther then rose, and addressing himself to the emperor and princes, said: "Since your most serene majesty and your high mightinesses require of me a simple, clear and direct answer, I will give one, and it is this: I cannot submit my faith either to the Pope or to the Councils, because it is as clear as noonday that they have often fallen into error, and even into glaring inconsistency with themselves. If, then, I am not convinced by proof from the Holy Scriptures, or by cogent reasons; if I am not satisfied by the very texts that I have cited; and if my judgment is not in this way brought into subjection to God's word, I neither can nor will retract any thing; for it cannot be right for a Christian to speak against his conscience. I stand here, and can say no more—God help me. Amen." "If you do not retract," said the chancellor, "the emperor and the States of the empire will proceed to consider how to deal with an obstinate heretic." "May God be my helper!" replied Luther, "for I can retract nothing."

Such was the great moral spectacle exhibited to the Christian world on the 18th of April, 1525, and with it closed the proceedings of the Imperial Diet. The minions of the Pope retired from the meeting, disappointed and mortified. The Diet had decided nothing; and the Reformer was still under the protection of the safe-conduct of the emperor. "His ashes ought to be thrown into the Rhine!" was the demoniacal cry of the blood-hounds who were thirsting for vengeance. Charles hesitated; but the Elector Palatine, the Duke George, and other princes of the empire, declared their abhorrence of so perfidious an act. The

secular arm alone shielded Luther from the vindictive fury of the ecclesiastics.

Every effort was made to seduce the intrepid Reformer from the position in which he stood. Frequent conferences were held between him and the agents of the Papal party. Day after day he was incessantly molested by their importunities : and when all the arts of intrigue were exhausted, the last expedient, of destroying him by poison, was resorted to. Luther at length requested the emperor to grant to him a safe-conduct from the city ; and on the 26th of April he departed from Worms. Twenty cavaliers attended him, to protect him from his enemies ; and an immense crowd accompanied him to the suburbs, exhibiting the same enthusiasm with which they had received him on his arrival. His friends soon after departed from the city, and his enemies alone now occupied the ground.

An imperial edict, dated the 8th of May, but not published for several days after, condemned Luther, and declared him "an enemy to the empire," "a member cut off from the Church, a schismatic, and a notorious and obstinate heretic." By it, "the severest punishments were denounced against those who should receive, entertain, maintain, or countenance him, either by acts of hospitality, by conversation, or writing." This edict, however, failed to accomplish the purposes of its enactment. It was objected to as the act of an informal council, having been sanctioned by those members of the Diet who had remained in Worms ; and after many of the German princes, the Electors of Cologne, of Saxony, and of the Palatinate, and others, had departed from the city. It was disapproved of, because it condemned Luther without a regular trial, either in Rome or in the Diet at Worms. And it was moreover declared to be without authority ; on the ground, that it affirmed the supreme jurisdiction of the pontiff over the controversy, whereas the emperor was not empowered to pass a definitive sentence, either on this point or the doctrines of Luther, before a judgment had been passed upon them by a general council.

But there were other causes, which not only nullified the force of the edict, but effectually frustrated the designs and machinations of the emissaries of Rome. The emperor had now important political objects in view. A war between France

and Germany was evidently approaching; and Charles at this critical period was engaged in allaying the seditions among his subjects, and in strengthening himself against his formidable rival by foreign alliances. Leo X., he discovered, was intriguing with Francis for a portion of the kingdom of Naples, which they were jointly to wrest from the possession of the emperor. The wily pontiff was at the same time negotiating a treaty with Charles, by which he would obtain the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Ferrara. The emperor, with the view of keeping him in check, adopted the policy of averting immediate dangers from Luther: and hence it was that he granted him a passport from Worms, and rescued him from the grasp of his enemies, when he solemnly declared that he would sacrifice his kingdom, his power, his friends, his treasure, his body and blood, his thoughts and his life, to stay the further progress of the Reformer's impiety. The finesse on the part of Charles, to control the political measures of the pontiff, not only saved Luther, but produced a result which seemed to be a triumph over the united efforts of the Emperor and the Pope; and greatly strengthened the cause of the Reformation.

The Edict of Worms was rendered nugatory by an incident in which Charles was suspected of having had an agency. Five days before the date of the edict, Luther was seized on the road between Eisenach and Waltershausen, by horsemen masked and armed, and carried into the castle of Wartenberg. The report of his capture was extensively circulated before the publication of the edict; and as it was supposed that he had fallen into the hands of his enemies, and been destroyed, the sentence of excommunication was soon forgotten. The emissaries of the Pope were again disappointed; but popular indignation was highly excited by an act which was attributed to their perfidy and intrigue.

Luther, although secluded from the world, was diligently engaged in preparing for a renewal of the controversy when he should obtain his liberation. He translated a great part of the New Testament into the German language. He there wrote his treatise "On the Abuse of Auricular Confession;" his "Notes on the Evangelists;" and his celebrated work on "Monastic Vows." This retreat, in which he resided ten months, he called his Patmos. He was not, however, deprived of the enjoyment of communicating with his friends, although the place of his con-

finement was for a time unknown to them. His tracts were forwarded to Wittemberg, and published. In the month of November, Luther secretly left the castle of Wartenberg; and having had an interview with Melancthon, and other friends of the Reformation, he returned to his seclusion. In March, 1522, he returned to Wittemberg, and publicly resumed those labors from which he had providentially withdrawn.

On the 1st December, 1521, Leo X. died. The extravagance and debaucheries of Alexander VI., the extraordinary expenditures in sustaining the military enterprises under the administration of Julius II., and the plan, which he had in part executed, of erecting a magnificent temple, to be dedicated to the Apostle Peter—had together exhausted the Papal treasury, when Leo succeeded to the pontificate. This pontiff was himself prodigal of his resources, fond of luxury, ambitious of a display of courtly splendor, improvident, and withal munificent in his patronage of the fine arts and in the encouragement of polite literature. The completion of the noble edifice, commenced by his predecessor, which was flattering to his pride and his ambition, urged him to call into requisition every means of replenishing his coffers, and of ministering to his necessities. Hence arose the extraordinary sale of indulgences, the corrupt disposal of ecclesiastical preferments, the exorbitant exactions, and numerous abuses, which aroused the popular indignation, and gave a new and an irresistible impulse to the Reformation. The metropolitan church of St. Peter in Rome, “built up with the skin, the flesh, and the bones of the flock” of the ghostly fathers who filled the Apostolic chair, stands amid the seven hills of the Papal city, a living and durable memorial of the cruel extortions which Popery in its pride, avarice, and superstition, inflicted upon Christendom in the sixteenth century.

Leo having intrigued with the emperor and the king of France, finally negotiated a treaty with the former. He was immersed in the sensual pleasures and dissipations of his court, at his favorite residence in Malliana, when the tidings of the capture of Milan were received by him. Elated by the success which attended the military efforts of his ally, he exposed his person in the festivities and rejoicings to which his courtiers and officers had abandoned themselves through the night. He returned to Rome in a state of debility, and his constitution suddenly yielded

to the disease contracted at Malliana. He died without the saving application of the extreme unction—"unhouse'd, disappointed, unanel'd"—"with all his imperfections on his head."

The Cardinal Tortosa, a native of Utrecht, who had been a school-fellow of the celebrated Erasmus at Deventer, and preceptor to Charles V., was elevated to the Papal throne, as the successor of Leo. He was advanced in years; and was distinguished, not only for his literary acquirements, but for his humble and unassuming piety. For sanctity of life and upright intentions, this venerable prelate resembled more than any of his predecessors the Pope Celestine V., who occupied the chair of St. Peter about four months, at the close of the thirteenth century. Tortosa assumed the title of Adrian VI. This pontiff evinced a sincere desire to reform the abuses in the Church; and had he pursued the dictates of his own judgment, the popular clamor against the Papacy would for a time have been subdued. But, fortunately for the cause of vital religion, he was influenced by other counsels; and the measures of his administration were directed by a system of policy which had been long identified with Papacy itself.* When Adrian suggested the correction of the morals of the clergy, the Cardinal Soderinus, the worthy counsellor of Roderick Borgia, and of his successors Julius and Leo, remarked to him, that "Heretics had in all ages declaimed against the morals of the Roman court, and yet the Popes had never changed them. It has never been by reforms," he said, "that heresies have been extinguished, but by crusades." When this pontiff consulted with Erasmus as to the measures for silencing the religious controversy, he was advised "to investigate the true cause of the evils; to hold out the hope that some of the palpable faults should be corrected; to call together honest and talented men from all nations to consult; to extend a general pardon and oblivion of the past; and to restrain in some measure the licentiousness of the press." The last advice only was adopted. Adrian, after many perplexities and irresolute designs, concluded, that "although the Church required a reformation, one step only should be taken at a time." "The Pope," said

* As Tortosa he was a pious Christian; but as Adrian VI. he was a crafty and hypocritical pontiff.

Luther, "advises that a few centuries should be permitted to intervene between the first step and the second." Thus the grievances were not remedied, and the Reformation continued to advance. Luther had left his retreat; and new notes of preparation for a more vigorous conflict resounded through Germany.

On the 23d of March, 1522, the Diet convened at Nuremberg, a city situated on the river Pegnitz, in the kingdom of Bavaria. The contemplated measures against the teachers of the new doctrines, and particularly against Luther, were, for a time arrested, by the invasion of Europe by the forces of the Sultan of Constantinople. In December the Diet again assembled. The instructions given by Adrian to his legate, Francis Cheregato, manifested a fixed purpose in the court of Rome to adhere to the ancient policy of subduing its enemies. He was enjoined to demand "a speedy and vigorous execution of the sentence that had been pronounced against Luther and his followers at the Diet of Worms." This peremptory requirement was however softened by the declaration, that the pontiff would correct the evils which had occasioned the dissensions in the Church, and given countenance to the doctrines of the Reformers: which was soon forgotten.

The legate, holding up the Papal brief in the presence of the Council, exclaimed: "It is indispensable that we should sever from the body that gangrened member. Your forefathers punished with death John Huss and Jerome of Prague, at Constance, but both these are now risen up in Luther. Follow the glorious example of your ancestors, and, by the help of God and of St. Peter, gain a signal victory over this serpent of hell." When this blood-thirsty representative of Rome concluded, the secular princes remained silent, but the ecclesiastics responded to Cheregato by repeated vociferations, "Let him be put to death." The former, without designing to withdraw from their communion with the Church of Rome, were still intent upon effecting a remedy of the grievances complained of, and admitted by the pontiff. Thus far they were unanimous in their sanction of Luther's opposition to the Roman Hierarchy. Until this paramount object, therefore, was accomplished, they were not disposed to yield to the urgent solicitations of the legate and the

wishes of the clergy, and sacrifice the only man in Germany who boldly denounced the tyranny and usurpations of the Pope. Such then was the true position of the parties.

But there were manifestations of a popular feeling still more unfavorable to the emissaries of Rome. The word of God was boldly preached in the churches of Nuremberg during the sitting of the Diet. Princes of high distinction and rank attended; and even the Monks of the Order of St. Augustine deserted their cells, and associated in secular affairs with the world. The ambassador of Adrian was indignant beyond measure, and insisted upon the immediate apprehension of the offenders. The Diet temporized; and Cheregato threatened to seize the preachers in the Pope's name. A council of the city resolved, that force should be interposed to rescue them, if any personal violence were offered to them; and these threats intimidated the nuncio.

The Diet, in the mean time, proceeded in their deliberations. The legate, discovering a determined purpose on the part of the German princes to obtain a redress of grievances, made a concession, which, as it was founded on no sincere intention to reform abuses, militated against the interest of Rome. He communicated to the Diet an order which had been delivered to him by Adrian; but which he had withheld, under the expectation that the subject of reform might be evaded altogether, and that the edict of Worms would be enforced without any reference to ulterior measures of redress. In this order the pontiff makes this self-condemning admission, "We are well aware that the holy city, for many years past, has been a scene of many corruptions and abominations. The infection has spread from the head through the members, and has descended from the Popes to the rest of the clergy. It is our desire to reform that court of Rome, whence so many evils are seen to flow; the whole world desires it; and it is in order that we may do this, that we consented to ascend the throne of the pontiffs.* Such were the hypocritical professions of that pontiff!

Circumstances appeared to favor the efforts of the Reformers.

* This is the deceptive language of the present Pope, Pius IX. The Christian world may again be convinced, that "centuries elapse between the first step and the second."

The emperor was at the time in Spain; the Pope had given a pledge to correct abuses; popular feeling sanctioned the measure. At this auspicious crisis, the princes of the empire proposed the call of a general council, to deliberate upon the grievances which were every where felt, and universally acknowledged; and to adopt such measures as would effect a general and a radical reformation of the Church. This proposal was based upon an authoritative statement of the most prominent evils complained of, which contained an enumeration of one hundred grievances. Among these were: "the corruption and arts of the Popes and of the court of Rome, in order to squeeze revenue from Germany;" "the scandals and profanations of the clerical orders;" "the disorders and simony of the ecclesiastical courts;" "the encroachments on the civil power, to the restriction of liberty of conscience," &c. The Diet, at the same time, prohibited, by a law, all innovation in religious matters until the meeting of a general council: but they declared in solemn form, that, "if these grievances are not redressed within a limited time, we will consult together, and seek some other means of deliverance from our sufferings and our wrongs." Such was the decided tone of the remonstrance uttered by the princes of the empire. Adrian discovered, that he had been too sincere in his admissions; and, as he said in his letter to the Elector of Saxony, soon after, "Where he had hoped to gather grapes, there he had found nothing but wild grapes."

The partisans of Popery in Rome were highly exasperated by the proceedings in Nuremberg. They charged the pontiff himself with pusillanimity. "What!" they exclaimed, "it is not enough to have to bear with a Pope who disappoints the expectations of the Romans; in whose palace no sound of song or amusement is ever heard; but, in addition to this, secular princes are to be suffered to hold a language that Rome abhors, and refuse to deliver up the Monk of Wittenberg to the executioner!"

The Diet had but confirmed what Adrian, under an apparent feeling of generous and candid concession, had unwittingly avowed. They declared their determination to obtain that redress which he had voluntarily promised to secure to them, and for the accomplishment of which he had consented to ascend

the throne of the pontiffs. But he appeared not less incensed than his council was. He addressed a letter to Frederick, in which he poured out the phials of his wrath, not only on the head of the elector himself, but as unsparingly on that of the Reformer. "Open thine eyes," he said, "to behold the greatness of thy fall;" "If Christian peace has forsaken the earth; if, on every side, discord, rebellion, pillage, violence, and midnight conflagrations prevail; if the cry of war is heard from east to west; if universal conflict is at hand; it is thou thyself who art the author of all these." "Seest thou not that sacrilegious man (Luther), how he rends with wicked hands, and profanely tramples under foot, the pictures of the saints, and even the holy cross of Jesus? Seest thou not how, in his infamous rage, he incites the laity to shed the blood of the priests, and to overturn the temple of the Lord? And what, if the priests he assails are disorderly in conduct? Has not the Lord said: Whatsoever they bid you, that observe and do, but do not after their works; thus instructing us in the honor that belongs to them, even though their lives should be disorderly."

"Rebellious apostate! he does not blush to defile vessels dedicated to God: he forces from the sanctuaries virgins consecrated to Christ; delivering them over to the devil: he getteth into his power the priests of the Lord, and gives them to abandoned women. Awful profanation! which even the heathen would have reprobated in the priests of their idol-worship."

"What punishment, what infliction, dost thou think we judge thee to deserve? Have pity on thyself; have pity on thy poor Saxons; for surely, if thou dost not turn from the evil of thy way, God will bring down his vengeance upon thee."

"In the name of the Almighty God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, of whom I am vicegerent on earth, I warn thee, that thou wilt be judged in this world, and be cast into the lake of everlasting fire in that which is to come. Repent, and be converted. Both swords are impending over thy head—the sword of the Empire and that of the Papal authority."

These angry and threatening denunciations against one of the most powerful princes of the empire—an elector, venerable from age, and respected for his wisdom and amiableness of character—revealed at once the true policy which governed the councils in Rome. A reform of the immoralities and vices

of the clergy, and an alleviation of the burdens under which the people groaned, could no longer be expected from the head of the Church. A pontiff, distinguished before his elevation for virtue, erudition, and sound judgment in political affairs, now occupied the throne. He had been ingenuous in avowing his strong conviction of the necessity of purifying the Church of the corruptions and abominations which prevailed in all its members, and had declared to the Diet of Nuremberg, through his legate, that, "in order that he might do this, he had consented to ascend the throne of the pontiffs." With this strong guaranty, founded on the voluntary and pledged faith of "Christ's vicegerent on earth," Christendom might assuredly have expected, with confidence, a peaceful remedy of all the grievances complained of and admitted. These fair promises were disregarded; and there remained no other means of redress than the sword. The letter of Adrian brought the whole matter in issue, to the alternative of resistance or submission. Both parties prepared for the conflict. "What can I say," exclaimed Melancthon, "whither can I turn? Hatred presses us to the earth; the world is up in arms against us." The aged, the prudent and pacific Frederick was in perplexity. The emperor, who is represented by historians as neither bigoted nor vindictive, sanctioned the insulting language of the pontiff: nay more, he had himself insulted the elector by a discourteous and an uncalled-for reprehension of his conduct in protecting the Reformers. This venerable Nestor still cherished in his bosom the chivalric spirit of his youth, and would at once have unsheathed the sword. "No prince," said Luther to him, "can undertake a war without the consent of the people from whose hands he has received his authority. But the people have no heart to fight for the Gospel, for they do not believe it. Therefore, let not princes take up arms: they are rulers of the nations, that is to say, of unbelievers." It was not long before the impending storm descended with all its violence; and not only Germany, but the whole of Europe, felt the force of the convulsions which followed.

In the course of this year (1522), the "Bohemian Brethren" addressed a letter to Luther on the subject of their grievances. They had never enjoyed religious liberty, under any guaranty of protection by the government. In the middle of the pre-

ceding century they had formed a religious association—and assumed the title of “United Brethren”—between Silesia and Moravia. They resolved not to resist the civil authorities, as the Taborites had done ; but to endure all things—even persecutions and death—with Christian patience. In the year 1460 they were disfranchised, and driven from their residences into the caves and dens of the mountains, under the reign of Casimer IV. When Wladislaus,* his son, was elected King of Bohemia and Hungary, he arrested the persecutions by the Papists, and the United Brethren enjoyed a temporary repose. Before his death, however, he was persuaded to sign an edict for their extermination, by the persevering entreaties of Bossack, a Hungarian bishop, assisted by the solicitations of his Queen. From the year 1495, therefore, these sectaries were continually molested in the exercise of their religious worship. The severity of the persecution was restrained for a time by the Bohemian States, and by the discouragements interposed by the king. Early in the sixteenth century the flames were kindled, and the most cruel punishments were inflicted upon the unresisting and unoffending Brethren.

Overcome by the untiring zeal of their Popish oppressors, dispersed and hunted down, they at length contemplated a compromise with their enemies ; and in 1522 they applied to Luther for his counsel under the extremities to which they had been driven. The Reformer replied to them—“That it was true the name of Bohemians had been odious to him as long as he was ignorant that the Pope was Antichrist ; but since God had restored the light of the Gospel to the world, he was of a far different opinion. That the Pope and his party were even more incensed against him than against them. That they had often reported that he had removed into Bohemia ; which he wished to do, had he not supposed that his removal would have been considered a triumph on their part. That he yet hoped the

* George Podiebrad was excommunicated by Pope Paul II., for protecting the Hussites, who assisted him in acquiring the throne of Bohemia in 1458. To defeat the designs of the Pope, and of Matthias Corvin, King of Hungary, who, at the instigation of Paul, had seized on Moravia, and was crowned King of Bohemia, he procured the appointment of Wladislaus as his successor.

Germans and the Bohemians would profess the same religion. That, although they were divided into sects, they would not escape divisions by uniting with the Papal Church, as no where they abounded more than among the Romanists; the Franciscans, and the several monastic orders, differing in many points from each other, and all at the same time living within the pale of the Church. That the Pope's kingdom was maintained by the dissensions among men; and for this reason he incessantly fomented disputes and differences between the princes of Europe, and kept the several States at war with one another. That the preaching of the pure word of God among themselves was the only means of securing unanimity. That they must adhere to the administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and continue to hold in veneration the memory of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. That, although all Bohemia should apostatize, yet would he celebrate and commend the doctrine of Huss to all posterity. That, therefore, he prayed and exhorted them to persevere in that way which they had hitherto defended with the loss of so much blood, and with the highest resolution, and not to cast a reproach upon the flourishing Gospel by their defection. And finally, that, although all things were not established among them as they ought to be, yet God would not be wanting, in time, to raise up some faithful servants of his, who would reform what was amiss, provided they continued constant, and utterly rejected the uncleanness and impiety of the Romish Papacy." Such was the language of Luther.

In tracing the progress of the Reformation under the new phases it assumed in the beginning of the sixteenth century, we shall proceed under erroneous impressions if we confine our views to the efforts of Lefevre, Zwingle, and Luther. "George Morel, a pastor of the Church of the Waldenses, published in 1530, 'Memoirs of the History of their Churches.' He states that, at this period, there were above eight hundred thousand persons professing the religion of the Waldenses." The existence of innumerable sects, who were included under the general denomination of heretics, is fully established by the "*Bull in Cena Domini*," which Leo X. published on the Thursday preceding Easter in 1521, from the balcony of the Basilica in Rome. In this he excommunicated and cursed, not only Martin Luther,

but the Cathari, the Patarini, the Poor Men of Lyons, the Arnoldists, the Speronists, the Passageni, the Wickliffites, the Hussites, the Fratricelli, &c.

Hence it was that the doctrines advanced by Lefevre, Zwingle, and Luther, were found to have been extensively propagated throughout the several kingdoms of Europe as early as the year 1522. They had, in truth, been planted many centuries before this period. The efforts of those enlightened men, aided by the art of printing, gave a new impetus to the spirit of religious reformation; and excited into fresh action those elements which had only been repressed.

Luther, about this time, published his treatise, "*Adversus falso nominatum ordinem Episcoporum*;" and soon after this another, entitled, "*De Doctrinis Hominum Vitandis*;" which was but a condensed form of that which he had already written on the subject of monastic vows. We now commence with the occurrences of the year 1523.

The letter of Adrian excited well-grounded apprehensions of an approaching struggle; and that Rome had counselled other measures than those of reason and persuasion. Both the spiritual and the material swords were unsheathed; and civil strife and carnage marked the future footsteps of the Vicar of Christ and the representative of the Prince of Peace. It was then that Luther remarked: "If the princes make war against the truth, there will be such confusion as will be the ruin of princes, magistrates, clergy, and people. I tremble at the thought that all Germany may, in a little while, be deluged with blood. Let us stand as a rampart for our country against the wrath of our God. The sword of civil war is impending over kings. They are bent on destroying Luther; but Luther is bent on saving them. Christ lives and reigns, and I shall reign with him."

The Pope had thundered from the Vatican; and the voice of those who had not rallied under the banner of Christ's spiritual kingdom, was silenced by the first peal which reverberated from the seven hills of Rome. Duke George, who, in the Diet at Worms, had boldly proclaimed the grievances inflicted by the court of Rome, drew the first sword in its defence. He imprisoned the monks and priests within his dominions who had countenanced the doctrines of the Reformation; he recalled the

youth who were pursuing their studies in distant seminaries suspected of cherishing the growth of heretical tenets ; and prohibited, under the severest penalties, the use of the Holy Scriptures in the German tongue.

The Romish priests bounded forward in the exultation of triumph. They were loosed from their leashes ; and their victims seemed at length within their grasp. The emperor had already commenced the work of desolation in the Netherlands. In 1521, the convent of Augustines, at Antwerp, on the Scheldt, witnessed the first scenes of the persecutions which that devoted country was destined to suffer. In the following year the inmates of the monastery were imprisoned or banished, and the building itself was razed to the ground. In July, 1523, three monks—Esch, Voes, and Lambert, who had eluded the vigilance of their pursuers—were publicly burnt at Brussels ; Hochstraten, and three other inquisitors, enjoyed the gratifying spectacle of the first *auto da fé* in the province of Brabant. “The executions have begun,” observed Erasmus. “At length,” said Luther, “Christ is gathering some fruits of our preaching, and preparing new martyrs.” But the blood of the martyr has in every age been the seed of the Church : and the truths of the Gospel began to take deep root, and to extend their branches over the neighboring provinces. “Wherever Alexander lights a pile,” Erasmus some time after remarked, “there it seems as if he had sowed heretics.” But a history of the progress of the Reformation in the Netherlands, and the persecutions which accompanied it, will be introduced in a subsequent part of this work. It may not inappropriately be remarked here, that the emperor, “notwithstanding the limited prerogative which he possessed in the Netherlands, published the most arbitrary, severe, and tyrannical edicts against the Reformers ; and took care that the execution of them should be no less violent und sanguinary.” A historian, celebrated for moderation and caution, has computed that “in the several persecutions promoted by that monarch, not less than a hundred thousand persons perished by the hands of the executioner.”*

Within the diocese of Mentz the doctrines of Luther were extensively propagated ; and the strength of the Reform party

* Hume's Hist. of Eng. vol. iii. p. 81.

restrained for a time the violence of the Papists. The military forces of the city, however, were permitted to commit open acts of outrage, and to indulge in debaucheries and all kinds of excesses, to the molestation of the Reformers. Many of them were imprisoned, and fell victims to the violence of the soldiery. The forms of public worship, agreeably to the rites of the Church of Rome, were restored; the reading of the Bible was strictly forbidden; and severe penalties were imposed upon those who either taught or conversed on spiritual matters.

On the 24th of September, 1523, Adrian died, and Julio de Medicis, cousin of Leo X., succeeded to the Papal throne. Julio assumed the title of Clement VII. The character of this pontiff, who conducted the affairs of the Church with true Italian policy, was better fitted to promote the interests of the Papacy than that of his predecessor. His plans were devised with secrecy, his negotiations managed by intrigue, and his political measures directed by a wise forecast of contingencies. If success did not attend all his military movements, his failures may be attributed rather to the spirit of the times and the power of his enemies, than to a want of skill in the disposition of his means. The extension of the Papal authority, the restoration of the Church to its former grandeur, and his own aggrandisement, were the leading objects in his administration. An enemy to all reform, his principles were congenial to the spirit and genius of the court over which he presided, and to the loose morals which have ever, and which then particularly, characterized the several orders of the Romish clergy. Adrian, notwithstanding the corrupting influences of the Papal Hierarchy, seems not to have lost all vestiges of those virtues for which he was distinguished before his elevation. He was therefore despised by the ecclesiastics who surrounded the throne. "Overjoyed at being rid of the stern foreigner, they suspended a crown of flowers at the door of his physician, who attended him in his last illness, with an inscription, "to the saviour of his country."

In January, 1524, a Diet convened again at Nuremberg. Clement was represented by the cardinal legate, Campeggio. In consequence of a temporary change in the organization of the Assembly, the Elector Frederick, who was excluded from the executive department, withdrew from the council and departed

from the city. The preachers of the new doctrines, among whom was Oleander, were active and zealous in propagating the truths of the Gospel in Nuremberg, during the convention of the Diet. Four thousand persons partook of the Lord's Supper under both kinds. Among the communicants was the sister of the Emperor Charles.

The proceedings of the Diet were not in accordance with the wishes of the legate. He insisted upon decided measures for suppressing heresy, and called upon the princes to enforce by arms the edict published at Worms. "What has become," they inquired, "of the memorial of grievances presented to the Pope by the people of Germany?" Campeggio replied, that it had never been communicated in an official form to the Papal court; and expressed his reluctance in believing that such a paper could have proceeded from the princes of the empire. The duplicity and prevarication of the legate offended the secular members of the Diet: and they added to the edict of Worms a clause which invalidated its force—requiring obedience to its mandates, "so far as it is possible." The Diet then proceeded to adopt another measure equally unwelcome to the Pope: they resolved upon the meeting of a Diet, composed of secular members, at Spire, in the November following, "to regulate all questions of religion;" and at the same time required the several German States "to call on their divines to prepare a list of controverted points, to be laid before that august assembly."

It was thus manifest that a spirit of reform prevailed in the Diet at Nuremberg. Luther remarked, "There is coin for you of the genuine stamp." Clement, when informed of the proceedings, uttered the most angry denunciations—"What! do they presume," he exclaimed, "to set up a secular tribunal to decide questions of religion in contempt of my authority?" In the Consistory,* convened in the Vatican, violent and intemperate counsels prevailed. "As to the Elector Frederick," said Aleander, "we must take off his head." It was determined that

* A consistory is an ecclesiastical council. At Rome, it is a judicial tribunal consisting of the cardinals, or the Pope's senate and council. Before it, judicial causes are tried. All political affairs of importance, the election of bishops, archbishops, &c., come within its jurisdiction. Certain spiritual courts, holden by the bishops and archbishops in their respective dioceses, before their chancellors, or commissaries, are also called consistories.

measures of the most decided character should be adopted for the extermination of heresy; and that the sovereigns of Europe should be called on to take up arms in defence of their holy religion.

Clement determined at once to resort to the arts of diplomacy to meet the approaching conflict. He addressed a letter to the emperor. His emissaries visited the courts of Europe. Alliances were formed with the princes of Germany, whom he could seduce from the cause of reform. The Duke of Bavaria yielded to his persuasions. The Archduke Ferdinand, the Archbishop of Salzburg, and other secular and ecclesiastical princes, assented to his proposals of a league for the defence of the Papacy. Hence arose "the Confederation of Ratisbon," in which were included, not only princes of Germany, but bishops of Germany and of Switzerland. From the intriguing genius of Clement arose the first systematic and secretly concerted plan for dividing the States of Germany, and exciting civil contentions and wars in Europe, on account of differences in religious opinions. The contracting parties were mutually pledged to extirpate heresy, individually, within their respective dominions, or by co-operation.

The Archduke Ferdinand, with the Legate Campeggio, returned to his capital: and an auto da fé in Vienna was the first seal which Papal bigotry affixed to the solemn pledge given in Ratisbon. At Buda, in Hungary, a bookseller was soon after committed to the flames for having distributed copies of the New Testament and of the writings of Luther. "The zeal of the fanatics," says D'Aubigné, "burnt every day more fiercely. Gospel preachers were expelled, magistrates banished, and sometimes the most horrible torments were inflicted. In Wurtemberg, an inquisitor, named Reichler, caused the Lutherans, especially their preachers, to be hanged upon the trees. Monsters were found who deliberately nailed by their tongues to the stake the ministers of God's word, so that the sufferers, tearing themselves in their agony from the wood to which they were fastened, endured a frightful mutilation in their efforts to liberate themselves."

In Salzburg, in the States of the Duke of Bavaria, in the north of Germany—wherever the jurisdiction of the members of the League extended—individuals were arrested; and either recanted, or were put to death. These series of persecutions

commenced in the close of the year 1524, soon after the meeting of the princes and ecclesiastics at Ratisbon. About the same time, deputies from the towns favoring the doctrines of Luther, and many nobles, assembled at Ulm, and formed a league of defence.

Luther, with the assistance of Melancthon, began now to new-model the Church of Wittemberg, and to establish in it a form of worship more consistent with the doctrines and principles of the Reformation. Heretofore he had looked up to the secular power to sustain him in his efforts to subvert the structure of Romish errors and superstition. A new epoch had now arrived; and on the ruins of a dilapidated hierarchy was to be erected a Christian edifice founded on the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone—a spiritual house, acknowledging its Divine founder, whom the Papal builders had disallowed and rejected as the head of the corner. Here we see Luther, in the true spirit of the Gospel, drawing a plain and visible line between secular and ecclesiastical governments, between the institution of man and that of God, between the State and the Church. In the days of Christ and of the apostles, they were distinct and separate. “My kingdom is not of this world,” was a declaration which determined at once the true character of the Church of Christ. While it preserved this distinctive character, it preserved its purity and its spirituality.* Fatal innovations in the government of the Church may be traced from the period (in the third century) when, in the language of the ecclesiastical historian,† “it varied from the primitive rule, and degenerated toward the form of a religious monarchy. For then the bishops aspired to higher degrees of power and authority than they had formerly possessed, and not only violated the rights of the people, but also made gradual encroachments upon the privileges of the presbyters.” “To cover these usurpations with an air of justice,” says the same writer, “and an appearance of reason, they published new doctrines concerning the nature of the Church, and of the episcopal dignity, which, however, were in general so

* The writer does not intend to convey the idea that all the Churches were until this period in a state of primitive purity. It was far otherwise. He here refers to the Church as a *spiritual body*, in a comprehensive sense.

† Mosheim's History, translated by Dr. Machaine.

obscure, that they themselves seem to have understood them as little as those to whom they were delivered." The conversion of Constantine the Great in the fourth century, the wealth and power which he bestowed upon the clergy, and the new titles introduced by him into the Church, to adapt its government as far as was practicable, to that of the empire, may be considered as the permanent and efficient causes of its declension from purity of doctrine and simplicity of worship. By thus blending the Church with the State, its revivifying principle was taken away, the errors and corruptions already engrafted upon it became inseparably united with it, and its ecclesiastical character was merged in a political organization.

The dissolution of this connection was one of the happy results of the Christian Churches established on the true principles of the Reformation.* They were organized by the precepts contained in the word of God, and on the authority and in the name of Jesus Christ. Hence it was, that when Luther, in 1523, proposed to abolish the mass in the cathedral at Wittemberg, and the prohibition of the elector was interposed, he replied: "What, in this case, have we to do with the prince's orders? He is but a secular prince. His business is to bear the sword, and not to interfere in the ministry of the Gospel." On the 25th of December, 1524, without the consent of Frederick, this superstitious rite was accordingly banished from the Church.

In the year 1525 occurred the war of the peasants. The insurrections of the populace were simultaneous throughout Germany. Everywhere complaints were heard of the grievous oppressions inflicted by the tyranny of the nobles. Manifestoes were published, declaring their grievances, and demanding an alleviation of the burdens imposed upon them by the landlords and the civil authorities. These tumultuous movements, and the array of arms, were impelled at first by motives altogether of a political character. A fanatic, by the name of Munzer, who pretended to have received communications from the Holy Spirit, excited a religious enthusiasm among his followers; and having acquired a control over the multitude, diverted their at-

* The Church of England, as will be seen in a subsequent part of this history, was an exception to this general remark. It was brought into existence by the caprice of Henry VIII. It possesses no ecclesiastical jurisdiction independent of the crown; and was in fact the mere creature of a parliament.

tention from the objects for which they had taken up arms, and the war was thereafter conducted by the impulse of a religious frenzy. It is not improbable that the doctrines of the Reformers, drawn from the immutable principles of right and justice, and claiming liberty of conscience, and the enjoyment of religious privileges, were perverted by the ignorant, or by the factious, and made subservient to the wicked designs of those who delighted in scenes of violence and bloodshed. While some of the insurgents insisted upon the subversion of all civil government, and the prostration of law and order, others demanded no more than a diminution of their taxes; and a third party, having caught the spirit of reformation, urged a change in the established forms of worship and of government in the Church. The larger portion of those who composed this lawless band seem not to have had any fixed object in view, or settled purpose to accomplish. The reformed teachers discountenanced these proceedings, and cooperated with the civil authorities in their efforts to arrest the progress of the evil, and to disperse this armed multitude. At the battle of Mulhausen they were signally defeated. Munzer was seized in his flight, and killed; and the war was thus terminated.

In May, and about the time when these civil commotions were quieted, the Elector Frederick died. His brother John, surnamed the Constant, succeeded to the electorate. In the following month Luther was united in wedlock to Catherine von Bora, who had been a nun in the convent of Nimptochen, Germany.

At Dessau, on the Mulda, in the Duchy of Anhalt-Dessau, the confederates of Ratisbon concluded, in June, a new treaty of alliance for the more effectual suppression of heresy. In November, the princes who favored the doctrines of the Reformation met in the castle of Friedwalt, in the forest of Sullingen, and concerted plans of mutual defence.

Thus were the parties acquiring strength, by accession of numbers, and by precautionary measures. On the 11th of December, a Diet convened at Augsburg, in Bavaria. Many of the princes were absent; and it was resolved that another Diet should assemble at Spire, in the month of May following, when the questions of "The Holy Faith," "Public Rights," and "The General Peace," would be fully discussed. Such were the political events connected with the affairs of the Church at the close of the year 1525, and which indicated an approaching crisis.

CHAPTER V.

DIFFERENCES unfortunately arose among the Reformers themselves on the subject of doctrines. Luther's mind still vacillated. His prejudices in favor of the ancient rites of the Church fettered his judgment; and, notwithstanding his forward zeal in opposing the supremacy of the pontiff, and his unqualified denunciations against the Popish dogma of "Works of Merit," he still clung to some of the tenets and superstitious observances of the Romish Church. He was fearful of the consequences of too thorough a departure from established forms and deeply-rooted opinions. What was not expressly forbidden by the Scriptures he did not readily abandon. "Where," he inquired of Carlstadt, "has Christ forbidden the elevation of the host?" "Did not Christ expressly declare, 'This is my body,' when he administered the sacrament of the Last Supper?" Such were the perplexities which bewildered his understanding, and by which he was deluded into fatal errors and inconsistencies.

"It is not the *sacrament*," he said, in 1519, "which sanctifies, it is *faith* in the sacrament. There are three things necessary to be understood in the holy sacrament of the altar: the *sign*, which must be external, visible, and under a corporeal form; the *thing signified*, which is internal, spiritual, and within the soul of man; and *faith*, which uses both." He even admitted that with *faith* a communicant might savingly receive the sacrament in one kind only. In 1520, in his "Treatise on the Mass," he said: "I can every day enjoy the advantages of the sacraments, if I do but call to mind the word and promise of Christ, and with them feed and strengthen my *faith*." Such were his views of the spiritual nature of that ordinance.

In 1524, Carlstadt preached his doctrines in Wittenberg; and, in opposition to the Romish tenet of "Transubstantiation," and that "the outward participation in the Supper brings salvation," he maintained that "the Supper was simply a pledge to believers of their redemption," and denied "all presence of Christ's body." Luther had in the mean time changed his views on the subject of the eucharist, and attacked the opinions of Carlstadt with the utmost virulence. Hence arose a controversy which terminated in a fatal division in the Reformed Churches, which has never been reconciled.

"Christ," said Luther, "desired to give to believers a full assurance of salvation, and, in order to seal this promise to them with more effect, had added thereto his real body in the bread and wine. Just as iron and fire, though different substances, melt, and are blended in a red-hot bar, so that in every part of it there is at once iron and fire, so, *à fortiori*, the glorified body of Christ exists in every part of the bread." This doctrine he expressed by the term, "*Consubstantiation*," in contradistinction to "*Transubstantiation*," of the Papal Church. In the latter, "the whole Christ God-man, body and blood, bones and nerves, soul and divinity, are truly, really, and substantially contained, under the species or appearance of bread and wine;" in the former, "Christ is received *in, under, or with* the bread and wine;" and this admits of his real or corporeal presence in the consecrated elements. Luther acknowledged that "he had, for five years, gone through much trial of mind on account of this doctrine;" and said, that "any one who could then prove to him that there is only the bread and wine in the supper would do him the greatest service."

This corporeal presence, however, is not of such a nature as exhibits the body of Christ to our senses. "The bread and wine remain in all respects unchanged; but the invisible, glorified body and blood of Christ are also actually present at the celebration of the eucharist, and exert an influence on all those who receive the bread and wine; not indeed present in that form nor with those properties which belonged to the Saviour's body on earth; such as visibility, tangibility, &c., for these it no longer possesses; but present with the new and elevated properties which now belong to its glorified state." As neither Luther, nor the advocates of this doctrine, could convey any distinct idea of

the nature of this "real presence"—for they professed not to have comprehended this mysterious union of Christ's body and the bread—they have expressed it by the term, "*Sacramental*." Luther has endeavored to explain it by the analogy of the heated iron; and also by that divine attribute of the Lord Jesus Christ, by which he is every where present.* "Christ," he said, "is present in the bread and wine, because he is present every where; and in an especial manner where he wills to be." Which all Christians will assent to; but in a spiritual sense.

As incomprehensible as the doctrine of the "real presence" was, Luther adhered to it with obstinacy, and in a spirit of intolerance. His controversy with Carlstadt, not only occasioned an irreconcilable rupture between those two distinguished Reformers, who had labored together in the sacred cause of religious liberty and the right of conscience, but it separated the Churches of Switzerland and Germany. Zwingle defended the doctrine of Carlstadt; and this brought him soon after in conflict with Luther. The Swiss reformer had maintained those opinions in Zurich, before Carlstadt advanced them at Wittenberg. In the year 1523 he said, "The bread and wine in the Lord's Supper are exactly (*haud aliter*) what the water is in Baptism." He maintained that "In the Supper there was nothing more than the sign of a spiritual communion between Christ and all Christians." "Faith is the one thing needful." "The sacrament of itself cannot sanctify; it is faith in the sacrament." So had Luther believed.

Zwingle had boldly dethroned the images in the churches of Zurich; and Luther was offended. In his controversy with Carlstadt, he demanded of him "to prove from the Scripture that it is our duty to destroy images." "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor any likeness," &c., replied Carlstadt. "The passage refers only to images for idolatrous worship," rejoined Luther; "if I hang up in my chamber a crucifix, and do not worship it, what harm can it do to me?" Here were two points in which the Reformer of Zurich and the Reformer of Wittenberg were irreconcilable.

* The advocates of the doctrine of Consubstantiation were called Ubiquitarians.

In 1525, Luther published his discourse, "Against Celestial Prophets." The gauntlet was thrown down, and Zwingli took it up. He wrote, soon after, his "Commentary on True and False Religion." "Since Christ, in the sixth of John," he said, "attributes to faith the power of communicating eternal life, and uniting the believer to him in the most intimate of all unions, what more can we need? Why should we think that he would afterward attribute that efficacy to his flesh, when he himself declares that the flesh profiteth nothing? So far as the suffering death for us, the flesh of Christ is of unspeakable benefit to us, for it saves us from perdition; but as being eaten by us, it is altogether useless." Œcolampadius sustained Zwingli.

Such was the spirit of the controversy on the eucharist, commenced in the year 1524. This was the first subject on which the Reformers differed. We shall now resume the history of the Reformation in France.

Leclerc, the first Christian martyr of the sixteenth century in France, was cruelly tortured, and burnt, in the city of Metz, in the close of the year 1523. The refugees, who escaped the flames of persecution, sought protection in the southern provinces, and in Switzerland. In Basle they organized a French Church. They were kindly received by Œcolampadius who was there engaged in preaching the truths of the Gospel.* The Jesuit Fleury mentions this persecution in the following unfeeling terms: "From time to time some false prophet appeared upon the scene, to publish his fanaticism, or sound the disposition of the court. But repression was prompt: it cost dear to one Berquin, of Arras; to Jean Leclerc, a wool-carder of Meaux; and to Jacques Pavanne, a clothier of Boulogne, for having spoken under pretended inspiration. They were all burned alive; and a dread of the fire silenced the spirit of several oracles. History mentions these despicable names, doubtless to perpetuate the reproach of their birth or their impiety, rather than to celebrate these vile founders of the Calvinistic Church."

It will be perceived that the Reformation presented a different phase in France from that in Germany. This difference is attributable to the mercurial temperament of the French, who

* Browning's History of the Huguenots, p. 21.

seized upon the truths of the Gospel with enthusiastic devotion, and threw into the cause they embraced all the energies of the mind, quickened and propelled by a lively imagination and by a fervent zeal. In the propagation of their doctrines, the French Reformers never once paused to make a calculation of consequences. They followed the impulse of the moment, pressed forward with animation, and encountered the perils which opposed their progress with a spirit which neither faltered nor compromised. This peculiar trait was exhibited by Leclerc, when, on the eve of a festival at Metz, he destroyed the images of the Virgin and the saints; and by Farel, when he snatched an image of St. Anthony from the hands of a priest, who was advancing at the head of a procession, and reciting prayers to that tutelary saint, and threw it from a bridge into the stream:* exclaiming to the astonished crowd, "Poor idolaters! will ye never put away your idols?" To this imprudent zeal may doubtless be attributed much of the suffering which afflicted the Reformers in France, from the earliest period of their struggles for religious freedom to the nineteenth century.

From Dauphiny, Provence, and Languedoc they were driven, by persecution, into foreign countries; and in 1524, Farel, and Anemond de Coct visited Basle. Erasmus had selected that city as his place of residence. This timid moralist, who was then engaged in a controversy with Lefevre, on religious doctrines, fearful of incurring the displeasure of the Popish party, avoided all association with the French refugees; and even indulged in the severest invectives against their character. Farel particularly, the disciple of Lefevre, was the marked object of this pusillanimous and time-serving satirist. "Why is it," he one day inquired of Farel, "that you assert, we are not to invoke the saints? Is it because Holy Scripture does not enjoin the practice?" "It is," answered Farel. "Well then," rejoined Erasmus, "I call on you to show, from Scripture, that we should invoke the Holy Ghost." "If he be God," said Farel, "We must invoke him." Erasmus was silenced; but his feelings were still more embittered toward the French Reformers. "I never met," he said, in a letter to Melancthon, "with such a liar—such a restless, seditious spirit as Farel. His heart is full

* Near Montbéliard on the Doubs.

of vanity, and his tongue charged with malice." "What! mean we to reject pontiffs and bishops, only to submit to the insolence of more cruel ragamuffin tyrants and madmen; for such it is that France has given us." "There are some Frenchmen," he wrote to the Pope's secretary, "who are even more insane than the Germans themselves. They have ever on their lips these five words: Gospel—Word of God—Faith—Christ—Holy Spirit—and yet I doubt not, but that it is the spirit of Satan that urges them on."

Farel, although not then a regularly ordained minister of the Gospel, displayed an untiring zeal in the propagation of its vital truths. By the permission of the Council of Basle, he publicly defended, in a Latin discourse, thirteen propositions. In these he asserted, that "Christ has left us the most perfect rule of life; no one can lawfully take away, or add any thing thereto"—"To shape our lives by any other precepts than those of Christ, leads directly to impiety"—"The true ministry of priests is to attend only to the ministry of the word; and for them there is no higher dignity"—"To take from the certainty of the Gospel of Christ, is to destroy it"—He who thinks to be justified by any strength or merits of his own, and not by faith, puts himself in the place of God—Jesus Christ, who is head over all things, is our polar star, and the only guide we ought to follow."

The theses of Farel struck at the root of Popish errors. The whole structure of human merits—the authority of the Fathers—the validity of traditions—the worship of saints—the infallibility of the Church—the supremacy of the Pope—were at once assailed by the irresistible force of truth. In these theses were embraced the principles which form the basis of the Reformed French Church. Faith in Christ, and obedience to his precepts, were the pillars which supported the edifice. *Ecolampadius* assisted in the discussion, and the word of God triumphed. But the machinations and intrigues of the Papal party, aided by *Erasmus*, compelled Farel to depart from Basle—and he directed his steps to Germany.

Not long after he was called to the charge of a church at Montbeliard, on the Doubs, in a frontier province of France, and at the foot of the Jura mountains. He was then ordained to the ministry by *Ecolampadius*, and commenced his pastoral duties. "The faction is every day spreading," wrote *Erasmus*

to the Bishop of Rochester, "and has penetrated into Savoy, Lorraine, and France." Farel thus occupied a middle ground between Switzerland and France. The Reformation again revived. Lyons once more heard those life-giving sounds which nearly four hundred years before had been proclaimed by the founder of the Waldensian churches in the southern provinces of France.

In the close of the year 1524, Francis, attended by his court, and at the head of his army, passed through Lyons. Margaret, his sister, then Duchess of Alençon, directed that the word of God should be preached. Encouraged, and for a time protected, by that princess, the reformed preachers again entered with zeal upon their labors. They ascended the Saone, and dispersed through Burgundy and Franche-Comte. Michel d'Arande, the almoner of Margaret, introduced the new doctrines into Macon, in the south of Burgundy, which became afterward a scene of bloodshed and devastation. Lyons was once more the centre of the Reformation in France.

The influence which Margaret exercised over her brother restrained the arm of persecution. When urged to exert his authority in the extirpation of heresy, and intimations were thrown out that he must begin with the court and his relatives—his sister being mentioned—he replied, "Do not speak to me on that matter; she loves me too well to think otherwise than I approve of." Francis' dislike of the doctors of the Sorbonne interposed an insuperable barrier to the execution of those severe measures against the Reformers which the university endeavored to enforce.

In February, 1525, the French army was defeated in the battle of Pavia; Francis was taken prisoner; and the Duke of Alençon,* who ingloriously fled, died soon after. This national disaster aggravated the afflictions of the Reformers, who were no longer protected from the vindictive fury of their enemies. Margaret could now extend to them her counsel: and she advised them to proceed with prudence and circumspection; but she could not interpose her influence for their safety. The calamity which had overwhelmed France with consternation was imputed to the disturbers of the public peace—the preachers of

* Margaret married Henry d'Albret in 1527. She died in Decem. 1549.

heresy and schism. Every stratagem was resorted to for inflaming the popular feeling against them. The enemies of the Gospel were untiring in their efforts to excite the public indignation. Their doctrines were misrepresented, their characters were traduced, their writings were misinterpreted. The doctors of the Sorbonne were active; the Romish clergy were inspired with new zeal; and the civil authorities were imperatively called on to exercise the powers of the government for rescuing the country from the evils impending over it. Remonstrances were presented to the queen-mother, Louisa of Savoy, in which she was charged with having countenanced the preachers of heresy and sedition. Margaret was accused of sanctioning the innovations by her protection of Lefevre and others. The Parliament of Paris declared that "the king, by his neglecting to bring the heretics to the scaffold, had drawn down upon the nation the wrath of Heaven." Awful denunciations were uttered from the pulpits. "Know you the rapid progress of this poison?" said the Popish priests. "Know you its strength? It acts with inconceivable rapidity; in a moment it may destroy tens of thousands of souls. Ah! well may we tremble for France." Such were the mighty engines raised against the Reformation, and effectually were they wielded for its destruction.

But, while on the one hand the genius of persecution was arraying itself in full panoply for the warfare, the disciples of Christ, on the other, were fearlessly and zealously engaged in planting the Gospel, and in propagating the truth, in the provinces remote from the capital.

Lefevre, in November, 1524, published at Meaux a French translation of the New Testament,* and, in 1525, a French version of the Psalms. Printing presses were established by the refugees in Basle. Religious works were daily multiplied, and forwarded to Farel at Montbeliard; and, through his agency, distributed over France. Colporteurs were employed, who traversed the provinces, and, visiting the families from house to house, disposed of copies of the Scriptures and religious tracts, at a price which enabled the poor to draw spiritual instruction

* The Bible, (edition of Anvers,) published in 1540, was translated by Lefevre, under the title of *Father Stapulensis*, and was used as the basis of that issued from Geneva.

directly from the word of God in their own vernacular tongue. "Thus, as early as 1524," says D'Aubigné, "there existed in Basle, and having France for the field of their operations, a Bible Society, an Association of Colporteurs, and a Religious Tract Society."

Immediately after the captivity of Francis, Louisa addressed a letter to Pope Clement, requesting his instruction as to the proper measures to be adopted for the suppression of heresy in France. His Holiness recommended the establishment of the Inquisition, and published a bull to that effect. A commission was accordingly issued by the Parliament of Paris, "vesting in M. Philippe Pott, the President of Requests,† and Andrew Verjus, its counsellor (laymen), and in William Duchesne and Nicolas Leclerc (doctors of divinity), ample powers to institute and conduct the trial of persons tainted with the Lutheran doctrines." To give to this inquisitorial tribunal the appearance of an ecclesiastical character, the Pope forwarded a brief, dated May 20, 1525, confirming the commission. The Bishop of Paris, and certain other bishops, by the edict of parliament, were made responsible to this court extraordinary for the extirpation of evangelical religion in France.

All persons convicted of Lutheranism by the ecclesiastical judges were, by the edict of parliament, ordered to be delivered over to the secular power, and to be committed to the flames without further process of law.

The queen-mother, solicitous of acquitting herself of the imputation of countenancing the Reformers, inquired of the doctors of the Sorbonne what method should be adopted to banish from the kingdom the detestable doctrines of Luther. "Prohibit the circulation of heretical works," said the university, "and if this be insufficient, coercive measures must be resorted to; they who resist the light, must be subdued by punishments and terror."

The engine was fully prepared for the work of destruction—the rack was constructed, the gibbet erected, and the combustibles were collected for the auto da fé. Who shall be the first victim immolated at the altar of the incensed deities of Papal

† "Letters of Requests, is an instrument by which the regular judge of a cause waives his own jurisdiction, under the provisions of the statute of citations, in which event the jurisdiction of the appellate court attaches."

idolatry and superstition? The Bishop of Meaux had obeyed the mandate of the Parliament, and in April, 1523, had prohibited the preaching of the Gospel within his diocese. But he still protected the teachers of the Reform doctrines, and had impiously demolished the images in his churches. Briçonnet had enjoyed the honors of the court, was a high dignitary of the Church, and had been favored with the confidence of Margaret. He would therefore be a worthy object of the first act of vengeance by the high court of Inquisition. If he would retract, and abjure the doctrines of the Reformation, his example of apostasy from the faith would better subserve the cause of Popery, than his patient suffering, and obstinate adherence, at the stake, to the religious principles he professed. He was arrested—then allured by munificent promises—entreated to return to the bosom of the Mother Church: “in the name of religion, country, friends—nay, even of the Reformation itself,” they said, “*consent* ;” and at length, overcome by their solicitations, or tempted by their proffers of distinctions and preferments, he yielded to the persuasions of his advisers, and publicly recanted. This was an afflicting blow to the cause of the Reformation in France. The friend and protector of Lefevre now condemned the writings of Luther, and returned to all the abominations of Romish superstition. He had now become the avowed enemy of Gospel truth, and of the teachers of its doctrines. The influence of Margaret was paralyzed by the captivity of Francis. In the close of the year 1525, we may date the commencement of an organized system of persecution and oppression—a system devised by the pontiff, and sustained by the court, the university, and the authorities of the State.

Lefevre, unprotected at Meaux, now felt the weight of that strong arm which was raised against the truth of God’s word. “What!” exclaimed the syndic of the university, the fanatical Beda, “Lefevre affirms, that whoever ascribes to himself the power to save himself will be lost, while whosoever, laying aside all strength of his own, casts himself into the arms of Christ, shall be saved. Oh, what heresy! thus to teach the uselessness of meritorious works. What hellish doctrine! what delusion of the devil! Let us oppose it with all our power.” Accordingly, the writings of the Doctor of Etaples were formally condemned, and his French translation of the Scriptures was

placed in the list of proscribed works. His person was the next object of pursuit ; but he precipitately fled to Strasburg on the Rhine, and escaped the vigilance of the Inquisition.

One victim had eluded the grasp of the inquisitorial court ; but Louis Berquin, who had been rescued from the vengeance of Beda by the king, was again within their power. "This one," said the syndic, "shall not escape so easily as Briçonnet or Lefevre." Berquin was apprehended, and imprisoned.* The equivocal Reformer and cowardly philosopher of Rotterdam, Erasmus, did not escape the eagle eye of Beda. "There is no difference," said a Carmelite of Louvain, "between Erasmus and Luther, unless it be that Erasmus is the greater heretic of the two ;" and the university responded to the condemnation. Erasmus was astonished ; but replied to his accusers with more spirit, and in a bolder language, than he had been accustomed to address himself to the emissaries and servile instruments of the pontiff. "How was this fearful flame of Lutheranism kindled ?" he remarked, in his letter to the university ; "How has it been fanned into fury—except by such outrages as these which Beda has committed ?" He next addressed the Parliament of Paris. "What ! when I had these Lutherans on my hands—when, under the auspices of the emperor, the Pope, and the other princes, I was struggling against them, even at the peril of my life, must I be assailed behind my back by the foul libels of Lecouturier and Beda ?" In his letter to Francis, he said : "Religion is their pretext—but their true aim is despotic power, to be exercised even over princes. They are moving on with a steady step, though their path lies under ground. Should the sovereign not be inclined to submit himself in all things to their guidance, they will immediately declare that he may be deposed by the Church ; that is to say, by a few false monks, and a few false divines, conspiring together against the public peace." Erasmus also addressed the emperor. "Invincible emperor," he said, "a horrible outcry has been raised against me, by men who, under the pretence of religion, are laboring to establish their own tyrannical power, and to gratify their own sensual appetites. I am fighting under your banner, and under the standard of Jesus Christ. It is by your wisdom

* Berquin was executed at Paris, in the year 1529. .

and your authority that peace must be restored to the Christian world." Erasmus, by these appeals, obtained the protection of the emperor and of the king; and thus the storm which was lowering over Christendom, and had already exploded over unhappy France, was diverted from its object.

In the province of Lorraine a more helpless victim was found. Schuch, pastor of Saint Hippolyte, at the foot of the Vosages—a range of mountains in Alsace on the Rhine—was charged with preaching the new doctrine. Anthony, Duke of Lorraine, and brother of Claudius, created Duke of Guise* by Francis in 1527, was ignorant and bigoted. In the trial of Schuch, which was conducted in Latin, the prince, who understood not that language, but inferring from his firmness and decided tone that he had recanted nothing, exclaimed: "Why dispute any longer? He denies the sacrament of the Mass; let them proceed to execution against him." On the 19th of August, 1525, this Christian martyr was committed to the flames in the city of Nanci, exclaiming, as the fire consumed his body, "Thou, God, hast called me, and thou wilt strengthen me to the end. Have mercy upon me, O God! according to thy loving-kindness," &c., and continued reciting the psalm until he expired.

Another victim was soon after seized in the capital. James Pavanne was arrested in 1524 under a charge of heresy; but, intimidated by his judges, he recanted. He repented of his apostacy, and attached himself boldly to the cause of the Reformation. "The dog has returned to his vomit, and the swine that was washed to his wallowing in the mire"—was the Popish cry against this unhappy youth. A pile was erected in the Place de Grève, and he was offered up, a miserable victim, to satisfy the savage appetite of his persecutors.

Fires were now kindled simultaneously in Paris, and in a distant province of the kingdom. The work has commenced; and other autos da fé must be exhibited, to convince the ghostly Father in Rome of the ardent zeal of the queen-mother, the Parliament, and the Sorbonne, in the extirpation of heresy, and in the defence of the most holy faith. "The flames in the Place

* The family of the Guises make a distinguished figure in the history of France from this period. Their genealogy will be more particularly referred to in a subsequent part of this history.

de Grève have struck terror into Paris, and into the whole of France ; but another pile, kindled on some other spot will redouble that terror." A recluse in the forest of Livry, only known in the neighborhood of the capital by his acts of daily charity to the poor, had attracted the notice of the inquisitors, by the spiritual instructions he communicated to the humble peasants whose dwellings he visited. While administering to their temporal necessities, he had declared to them the truths of the Gospel ; and had taught the way of salvation through Jesus Christ. For this offence he was dragged from his cell, and incarcerated in a dungeon. Soon after, he was condemned by the inquisitorial tribunal, "as an exemplary punishment, to be burnt by a slow fire." "In the cathedral close of Notre Dame, beneath the stately towers erected by the piety of Louis the Younger, amidst the cries and tumultuous excitement of a vast population, died peaceably a man whose name history has not deigned to transmit to us—the Hermit of Livry."

Such were the afflictions of that devoted country, during the captivity of Francis in Spain. The persecutions were not confined to the capital. Commissaries of the Inquisition traversed the distant provinces : gensd'armes patrolled the highways ; the secret spies of the university introduced themselves into private families ; every where open violence or secret stratagem were actively employed, for the apprehension of heretics, or the detection of any correspondence between those who favored the Reform doctrines. A system of espionage insinuated itself in the social intercourse of life, and destroyed that mutual confidence on which are founded the enjoyments of society. An object marked out for destruction, was sacrificed at the stake, or dispatched by poison or the dagger. "The doctors of a celebrated school," says D'Aubigné, alluding to the Sorbonne, "are but too well known for having patronized the use of such means ; and kings themselves have fallen victims to the steel of the assassin. Papillon, who had been elevated to a responsible station at court through the friendship of Margaret, suddenly died, under circumstances which left no doubt of his having been poisoned. Her almoner was threatened with imprisonment or death. The gibbet or the flames were the ready instruments for the destruction of those who moved in the humble walks of

life—a victim of rank and elevated station was secretly disposed of by poison or the dagger.”

Francis, with his refinement and love of letters, was bigoted in the tenets of his religion ; and, in the latter part of his reign, was the obsequious instrument of the pontiff in the persecution and cruel punishment of his subjects. Before his captivity, however, he seems to have yielded to other influences ; and if he did not encourage the spirit of Reformation by any positive measures having that object in view, it does not appear that he either countenanced or devised its suppression by violent or cruel means. During his captivity a fearful system of oppression was introduced into the kingdom ; and Popish influence acquired an irresistible control over the counsels of the court and the administration of the government. It is certain that, not long after his restoration to the throne, he subserved the interests of the Roman Hierarchy, by pursuing heretics within his dominions with the most wanton cruelty, and in a spirit of savage barbarity.

By a treaty, entitled “the Peace of Madrid,” on the 14th of January, 1526, the King of France obtained his liberation on terms disadvantageous to his interests. He renounced all claims to his Italian possessions ; ceded Burgundy ; relinquished his feudal sovereignty over Flanders and Artois ; and promised to withdraw his protection from the King of Navarre. He left his two elder sons with the Emperor Charles as hostages, and took an oath that, if all the provisions of the treaty were not complied with, he would return into captivity. The conditions of his liberation were no doubt unreasonably severe. Francis remonstrated against the terms before he affixed his signature to them ; and afterward publicly declared that his concessions had been extorted by compulsory means. The result was, that the treaty by which he obtained his liberation was not complied with ; and the Pope, (Clement,) formally released him from the obligation of his oath.

The indecisive measures which were pursued by the King of France, to the period of his captivity, in reference to the Reform doctrines, were in part the consequences of the influence exerted by his sister, the Duchess of Alençon. They were also the results of a policy which the power of the emperor compelled him

to adopt. Regardless himself of the precepts of religion, he did not scruple to compromise with either party, as his interests might dictate. The Reformers* within his dominions received his protection and countenance when he would conciliate the followers of Luther in Germany. Margaret was permitted to appoint to the See of Oloron the distinguished reformer, Roussel; and even persuaded her brother to invite Melancthon (in 1535) to a conference with the French divines on the subject of the religious differences which distracted the kingdom. At a subsequent period, when these influences had lost their weight, he evinced the most embittered feelings towards that party, and declared with much virulence, that, "if he thought the blood in his arm was tainted with the Lutheran heresy, he would have it cut off; and that he would not spare even his own children, if they entertained sentiments contrary to those of the Papal Church." Persecution may be said to have been organized during his captivity; and the royal sanction gave to it an increased malignancy after his return to the capital. "Francis protested upon oath, that he would never desert the Catholic faith, and issued orders to prosecute the heretics with rigor." "This sudden and generous resolution," said a Popish writer, (Mainbourg,) "was like a thunderbolt to the Protestants, who had no idea of such a reverse, under the protection of the Queen of Navarre."†

While these cruel scenes were witnessed in France, events were transpiring in Germany, which, if less tragical, were equally momentous to the cause of spiritual truth.

As the period for the re-assembling of the Diet at Spire approached, the princes of Germany who favored the Reform doctrines were agitated by renewed apprehensions of danger. Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, formed with the Elector John of Saxony an alliance of mutual defence against their enemies, at Torgau. John was more decisive in maintaining the tenets of his religion than his brother Frederick had been. He fearlessly assumed the responsibility of establishing Reform churches within

* The title of "Reformers," or, "the Reformed," was first adopted by the French divines, who preached the scriptural doctrine of justification by faith. (Mosheim.)

† Browning's *History of the Huguenots*, p. 22.

his dominions, and by an act of sovereignty abolished the superstitious rites and forms of worship observed in the Papal Church. In the following year, (1527,) his ecclesiastical establishment was completed by a system of laws and regulations drawn up by Luther and Melancthon. The Princes and States of Germany, who had adopted the same religious principles imitated his example, and the Reformation was at once placed upon a solid basis.

The alliance thus formed at Torgau was soon after strengthened by the accession of other princes; who, at Magdeburg, by what was termed "an Evangelical Union," cemented their confederacy. This decided movement of the Reformers was not sanctioned by Luther and Melancthon. The former believed that the cause of the Gospel would be sustained by God without the intervention of the physical power of man; the latter apprehended the acceleration of a conflict of arms, which it was his earnest wish to avoid.

The princes attached to the Romish Hierarchy were not less active and energetic in their measures. They addressed a letter to the emperor, in which they said: "The detestable doctrine of Luther is making extensive progress; every day attempts are made to seduce ourselves, and, failing to persuade us, they seek to compel us by exciting our subjects to revolt. We implore the emperor's intervention."

Recent political events seemed unfavorable to the success of the evangelical cause. The Treaty of Madrid, by which Francis obtained his liberation, and a temporary peace established between those two potentates, enabled the emperor to direct his attention more immediately to the internal affairs of Germany; and Francis voluntarily proffered to pay one-half of the expenses of a war, either against the heretics, or against the Turks.

Under these peculiar circumstances the Diet assembled at Spires, on the Rhine, in May, 1526. Ferdinand, the brother of Charles, presided. Notwithstanding the efforts made, under the urgent demands of the emperor, to inflict upon Luther and his followers the sentence pronounced against them at Worms, the Popish party were defeated in this, as they were in every other measure proposed for the suppression of heresy. A general council, it was contended, was the only proper tribunal for deciding on ecclesiastical matters. The Diet, therefore, deter-

mined that an address be sent to the emperor requesting the immediate call of an ecumenical council for a final settlement of the religious controversies; and the Assembly adjourned, leaving the parties in the same relative position in which they had convened.

The result, however, was unfavorable to Papacy. The several German principalities were permitted, by a resolution of the Diet, to regulate, in the mean time, their own ecclesiastical affairs, responsible to God and the emperor. This undefined restriction invalidated nothing of the privileges conceded; and the cause of the Reformation virtually triumphed.

The successes of the German Emperor, crowned by the capture of the French monarch, and by the advantageous treaty under which he assented to his release, excited the fears of the European powers. The Pope, Clement VII., anxious about his Italian possessions, proposed, and effected an alliance at Cognac, of which his Holiness, Francis, the Venetians, the Florentines, the Swiss, and the Duke of Milan were the principal parties—with the object of reducing the emperor to more reasonable terms than those on which the peace of Madrid was based. Henry VIII. was invited to join the confederacy, as Protector of “the Holy League,” as it was termed; with the promise of an advantageous investiture within the kingdom of Naples. The Cardinal Wolsey was also seduced by the expectation of an ample revenue in the division of the spoils. Thus were the most potent States in Europe arrayed at once, to defeat the ambitious projects of Charles, and to restore the balance of power.

The imperial army, under the command of Pescara, was again victorious in Italy; and the Duke of Milan was expelled from his dominions. In the career of conquests, the mercenaries became dissatisfied, from not having received from the emperor the stipulated sum for their military services; and the Duke of Bourbon, who had succeeded to the command after the death of Pescara, was compelled to offer them the riches of the Papal city. In May, 1527, Rome was besieged by the imperial forces, and taken by assault, after an obstinate resistance by the troops of the pontiff. Bourbon was killed* in the attempt to scale the

* By the death of the Constable, grandson of Louis, Count of Montpensier, the eldest branch of Bourbon became extinct in 1527.

walls; but the city was given up to indiscriminate slaughter, to wanton pillage, and to the most atrocious acts of barbarity and violence. The palaces were despoiled of their wealth. The nobles and the prelates were seized, and imprisoned in loathsome dungeons; and the severest cruelties were inflicted upon them, to extort from them their treasures. Defenceless females were violated on the sacred altars, to which they had vainly fled for protection. Clement himself, having taken refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, was captured; and after being treated with many personal indignities by the German soldiers who were attached to the Lutheran principles, he was detained by the Prince of Orange as a prisoner of war.

Such were the bitter fruits which his Holiness reaped from his faithless intrigues and his short-sighted diplomacy. The emperor, with his accustomed hypocrisy, affected a deep regret for the violence offered to him. By his orders, the imperial court assumed the habiliments of mourning; and prayers were offered up for his deliverance. Many months after his capture the pontiff succeeded in making his escape to Orvieto.

The disastrous issue of this conspiracy against Charles influenced afterward the councils of Clement. He feared a power which he had so sensibly felt; and the danger of offending a monarch who had inflicted such an exemplary punishment was never overlooked nor forgotten in his future deliberations. While his spirit was thus humbled by his misfortunes, and his mind was held in subjection by the fears of his artful and potent enemy, an embassy was sent to him from the King of England, which increased his embarrassment, and demanded the cautious exercise of that system of duplicity and cunning which has always been a distinguishing characteristic of the court of Rome.

Henry had long before entertained scruples as to the legitimacy of his marriage with Catharine of Arragon, who had been the widow of his brother Arthur. Julius II. had, it is true, granted a dispensation at the time of the matrimonial contract. But notwithstanding the unlimited powers which the pontiffs have assumed and exercised, of dispensing with the laws of God and man, the schoolmen had maintained that the former were moral and eternal, and equally obligatory on all. Among these there was none more explicitly laid down in Leviticus, than the prohibition of a marriage with a brother's widow. A curse seems

to have accompanied this violation of God's law, in the untimely death of four of his children. The legitimacy of his surviving daughter, Mary, was questioned by the French ambassador, when her marriage with the King of France was made a subject of negotiation between the two courts. Henry himself declared that all connubial intercourse had ceased between them, from his own conscientious scruples. A divorce had been contemplated by him, and the Cardinal Wolsey had visited the court of France to negotiate a marriage with Renata, daughter of Louis XII.

Anne Boleyn, (granddaughter of the Duke of Norfolk,) who was maid of honor in the court of Francis I., and afterward of his sister Margaret, then Duchess of Alençon, returned to England in the year 1527, and was received into the services of Catharine. Her beauty and accomplishments captivated the English monarch, and she became the object of his amorous affections. Inflexible in his purpose, and ardent in his temperament, Henry determined to dissolve his marriage contract and to espouse the fair maid of honor.

The English bishops, with one exception only, confirmed the doubts of the king on the legitimacy of his marriage with the queen, by their formal declaration in writing; and an ambassador was accordingly sent to Rome to procure a Papal dispensation. Clement was at the time a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. Bound to the king by his friendly alliance, and in the power of the emperor, the pontiff was thrown into the utmost perplexity by the urgency with which the application to him for a divorce was made by the emissary from the English court. He gave an equivocal reply, but privately advised that "Henry should first marry another wife, and then apply for a dispensation."* This course, however, was disapproved of, and the advice was at once rejected.

In the following year the armies of Francis were successful in the Neapolitan territories. This temporary triumph of his confederate emboldened Clement to issue a commission to the Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio, to try the cause in England; but he refused to insert in it a clause which would oblige him to

* Such was the moral code of Papal Rome! See also in the Appendix, letter A.

confirm their judgment of the case. In the mean time, Wolsey, with any English prelate, was authorized "to examine the validity of the king's marriage, and Julius' dispensation;" and they were also entrusted with the power of a provisional dispensation for the king's marriage with any other person. A secret promise was made "to issue, in time, a decretal bull, annulling his marriage with Catharine." The pontiff, however, fearful of offending the emperor, enjoined upon the parties the profoundest secrecy; and, at the same time, instructed his commissioners "not to publish the papers, nor to make any use of them, till his affairs were in such a situation as to secure his liberty and independence."

The intrigues of his Holiness were discovered by the emperor. As the nephew of Catharine, he was sensible of the dishonor which would be attached to his family by her degradation; and, as the declared enemy of Henry, he was solicitous of defeating his designs. Conscious of the ascendancy he had acquired over the mind of Clement, he intimidated him by threats of calling a general council. "He represented this measure as necessary to reform the Church, and to correct those enormous abuses which the ambition and avarice of the court of Rome had introduced into every branch of ecclesiastical administration." "The power of the sovereign pontiff himself," he said, "required limitation; his conduct called aloud for amendment; and even his title to the throne which he filled, might justly be called in question." (Hume.) The bastard son of Julian of Medicis, was well aware of the popular aversion to the elevation of one of dishonorable birth to the Papal throne; and the simoniacal act by which he had procured the vote of the Cardinal Colonna, in his election to the pontificate, if alleged against him, would, he knew, invalidate his election, and wrest from his tenacious grasp the insignia of office.

Henry, although determined to accomplish his designs, delayed his measures. At length the Legatine Court commenced its deliberations in May, 1529. Its proceedings were artfully protracted until the month of October, when Campeggio, under evocation from Rome, withdrew, and the decision of the case was transferred to the Papal court.

Recent political events controlled the counsels of Clement. The Florentines had revolted from the family of Medicis, had

established an independent government, and formed an alliance with France and England. The Papal authority could not be re-established in Florence through the intervention of those powers. The attainment of this became a paramount object with Clement, and would be accomplished only by the friendly interposition of the emperor. For this he resolved to hazard a rupture of his amicable relations with England, and hence the evocation.

Henry bore his disappointment with remarkable patience; but the Cardinal Wolsey became the object of his displeasure. Anne Boleyn imputed to his machinations and ambitious projects the frustration of her fond expectations; and, by her persuasions, the royal favor was withdrawn from him. The process instituted against this prelate was the first measure adopted by Henry which led to his rejection of the Papal authority, and the introduction into the kingdom, by legislative enactments, of the religious Reformation.

The great seal was taken from him; and, under an indictment in the Star-Chamber, a sentence of condemnation was pronounced against him. He was charged with "having, contrary to the Statute of Provisors, passed in the reign of Richard II., procured bulls from Rome: particularly one investing him with the legatine power." His friends alleged, in vain, the formal sanction of the royal authority, and the consent of Parliament, as the ground of his defence. He was subjected to the penalties of a *Præmunire*; he was declared to be out of the king's protection; his lands and goods were forfeited; and he was condemned to imprisonment at the pleasure of the crown. Wolsey pleaded his ignorance of the statute, and threw himself upon the clemency of the king. He was disgraced, but continued to enjoy an equivocal demonstration of the royal favor until his death.

"The complaints," says the historian, Hume, "against the usurpations of the ecclesiastics had been very ancient in England, as well as in most other European kingdoms; and as this topic was now become popular, everywhere it had paved the way for the Lutheran tenets, and reconciled the people, in some measure, to the frightful idea of heresy and innovation. The Commons, finding the occasion favorable, passed several bills restraining the impositions of the clergy." Ecclesiastical heriots, or gifts in mortuaries extorted by the parsons of the parish as corse-

presents, were restricted to an *ad valorem* taxation of the goods of the deceased. Pluralities—which were held contrary to the ecclesiastical law, but under a dispensation from the Pope—were also subjected to a standard of valuation. Non-residences, prohibited by the common law of England, as well as by the canon law, were provided against by Parliamentary enactments. The exactions for the probate of wills, which had become oppressive and were arbitrarily imposed, were moderated. The clergy were prohibited, under a severe amercement, from taking any lands or tenements to farm; and their leases were declared void. But the strong evidences of a prevailing spirit of reformation, were the severe and unmeasured animadversions in the lower House of Parliament, on the general corruption of the clerical order; and the unsuppressed complaints of the oppressions under which the people groaned, from the cupidity and extortions of that privileged class. These measures of reform were opposed in the House of Lords. “Bishop Fisher,” says Hume, “imputed them to the want of faith in the *Commons*, and to a formed design, derived from heretical and Lutheran principles, of robbing the Church of her patrimony, and overturning the national religion.” Which expressions, on complaint of the members, he was compelled by the king to qualify. Such were the incipient advances to a reform of the Church, countenanced by the king, resolutely made by the people through their immediate representatives, and opposed by the bishops, at the close of the year 1529. This order of the clergy constantly opposed a Reformation of the Church.

Henry, however, was not yet prepared in mind to cast off all connection with the Roman Hierarchy. He had defended Leo X. from the assaults of Luther, and in the controversy had been unsparingly abused by the German Reformer. His early education had implanted in him the strongest prejudices in favor of the Popish doctrines. His intimate acquaintance with the writings of Thomas Aquinas, the “Angelic Doctor,” had given to his judgment a bias to the tenets of the schoolmen. With these strong predilections on the side of the established Church, he apprehended the dangers of innovations. Once the “Defender of the Faith,” he revolted at the idea of becoming the avowed champion of heresy. Such were the sentiments of Henry at this period. He was, notwithstanding, resolute in the accompli-

ment of a purpose; and the Pope was compelled by circumstances to withhold his sanction, and to hazard the loss of his friendship, as well as that of his fealty.

Political affairs in Europe assumed, in 1529, a new aspect. By the peace of Cambray tranquillity was again established. Florence had been restored to the family of Medicis by the imperial forces. Clement and Charles were on terms of mutual friendship. The pontiff very graciously placed upon the head of the emperor, at Bologna, the imperial crown. This general pacification, however, was not auspicious to the religious controversies in Germany. Charles now directed his attention to the differences which distracted his dominions; and a Diet was again convened at Spire. The concessions which had been unanimously made at the former Diet to the several States and principalities, in their ecclesiastical affairs, were, by a plurality of votes in this, unjustly and illegally withdrawn. The shallow artifice of a promise that a general council would be speedily assembled, which, by an authority paramount to that of the Pope, would harmonize the discordant parties, failed to soothe the irritation and to quiet the apprehensions of the Reformers. They, therefore, opposed this iniquitous measure, by which their religious rights were violated; and when their opposition became ineffectual, they entered up a formal and solemn *Protest* against the decree of the Diet, on the 19th of April. John, Elector of Saxony, George, Elector of Brandenburg, Ernest and Francis, Dukes of Lunenburg, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, the Prince of Anhalt, and the deputies from the imperial towns, Strasburg, Ulm, Nuremberg, Constance, Rottigen, Windseim, Memingen, Nortlingen, Lindaw, Kempton, Heilbron, Wissemburg, and St. Gall, signed the *Protest*, and sent ambassadors to the emperor to inform him of their proceedings.

From this period the advocates of the Reform doctrines were universally designated as *Protestants*.*

The embassy from the protesting princes and cities was

* The Reformers in Piedmont, and in the southern provinces of France, were still distinguished, as they had been for many centuries before, as *Vaudois* and *Waldenses*. Those in France, descendants of the ancient Waldenses, were afterward called *Huguenots*, or French Protestants. The Reformers in Germany were designated, from those of other States, as *German Lutherans*.

haughtily received by Charles, who ordered the arrest and imprisonment of the ambassadors. This unexpected and unnecessary act of violence alarmed the Protestants, and convinced them of the necessity of a closer alliance, for their mutual defence, against the arbitrary acts of the imperial government. The princes assembled, first at Roth, and afterward at Nuremberg and Smalcalde, but were unsuccessful in the accomplishment of their object. The obstacles to a general league arose from the differences of opinion on doctrines of faith. The disciples of Luther dissented from those of Zwingle on the subject of the eucharist; and the parties were irreconcilable.

With a view of removing this difficulty, the Landgrave of Hesse invited those distinguished Reformers, and other doctors of eminence, to a conference at Marburg. Ecolampadius and Melancthon attended: the former to assist Zwingle, and the latter Luther, in maintaining their respective opinions. The intricate question of Christ's mysterious presence in the consecrated elements was the principal subject of controversy. The discussion was continued four days successively, and terminated by a mutual understanding between the parties that their differences on this point should not interpose in preventing a harmony of sentiment and action on the fundamental principles of evangelical truth.

The period had now arrived when the religious world imperatively called for a clear exposition of the doctrines for which the Reformers were contending, and an explanation of the abuses and corruption alleged against the Papal Church. At the suggestion, therefore, of the Elector of Saxony, Luther drew up a compendium of scriptural doctrines, as they had been adopted at the Conference at Sulzbach, which consisted of seventeen articles. These he presented at Torgau to the elector, and hence they were called "The Articles of Torgau." This summary of faith, as maintained by the German Reformer, was intended for the Diet of Augsburg, which the emperor had determined to convene in the following year.

On the 20th of June, 1530, the Diet of Augsburg was opened. The emperor, his brother, King Ferdinand, the electors, John of Saxony, with his son, John Frederick, George of Brandenburg, Francis and Ernest, Dukes of Lunenburg and Brunswick, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, and about twenty

hundred other princes and divines, were present in the assembly. The purposes for which this Diet was convened were of a political as well as of a religious nature. Sultan Solyman I., surnamed the Great, had extended his conquests to the walls of Vienna; and, although driven back by the imperial forces, he still menaced the dominions of the House of Austria. Hungary was exposed to the incursions of the warlike Ottomans; and the integrity of the empire seemed to rest upon the unanimity and co-operation of the princes. These political events might be supposed to have influenced this national council in its deliberations. The religious differences between its members were therefore the first and most important objects of adjustment.

The emperor had promised an impartial audience to the Protestants; and the Articles of Torgau were submitted, before the assembling of the Diet, to the revision of the learned Melancthon. They were extended by this distinguished theologian to twenty-eight articles, and approved of by Luther. The summary of doctrines thus prepared is known as "The Confession of Augsburg." Two copies were drawn up for the use of the Diet—one in the German, and the other in the Latin language. The German copy was read by Dr. Baier, one of the chancellors of the Elector of Saxony, with such an audible voice and distinct enunciation, that every syllable was heard throughout the immense concourse of auditors who filled the spacious edifice.

"The style of the Confession," says Mosheim, "is plain, elegant, grave and perspicuous, such as becomes the nature of the subject, and such as might be expected from the admirable pen of Melancthon. It contains twenty-eight chapters, of which the greatest part are employed in representing, with perspicuity and truth, the religious opinions of the Protestants, and the rest in pointing out the errors and abuses that occasioned their separation from the Church of Rome."

The cities of Strasburg, Constance, Memingen and Lindaw, which had withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Papal Hierarchy, but rejected the opinion of Luther on the manner of Christ's Presence in the eucharist, also presented to the Diet "A Formula," or exposition of their faith. This is known as "The Tetrapolitan Confession," and was drawn up by the celebrated Martin Bucer. It was commended by the Papists as well as by the Protestants as a composition of high literary merit, and "as

a master-piece of reasoning and eloquence." "Zwingle also sent to this Diet a private confession of his religious opinions."

The votaries of the Romish worship had a decided ascendancy in the Diet, and "The Confession of Augsburg" was condemned. John Faber, afterward Bishop of Vienna, with Eckius and Cochläus, were appointed to prepare "*A Refutation*," which the Protestants were imperatively required to subscribe, as an act of their assent to its doctrines. This imperial order they disobeyed, and demanded a copy of "The Refutation," that they might expose the fallacy of the reasoning it contained. Their application was rejected by the emperor; and an order was issued prohibiting the publication of any writing on the subject of religious controversies. This prohibition was disregarded; and Melancthon, some time after, having obtained a copy of "The Refutation," published "A Defence of the Confession of Augsburg." Such were the results of the deliberations at Augsburg.

The menaces of the emperor were ineffectual in silencing the Reformers, and an imperial Diet had ventured upon no decisive measures for the extirpation of heresy. Conferences between the parties, with the sanction of the pontiff, who, unable to control the secular power for the accomplishment of his purposes, flattered himself that persuasion and argument might heal the divisions, were equally unsuccessful.

Neither menaces nor false reasoning had checked the progress of Divine truth. In every conflict the cause of the Reformation had acquired increased strength. But a crisis was evidently approaching when a conflict of arms would be unavoidable, and for this issue the parties were organizing their respective forces.

CHAPTER VI.

THE Landgrave of Hesse and the Saxon Princes had departed from Augsburg, when, on the 19th of November, an edict was issued, under the authority of the emperor, condemning Luther and the advocates of the Reform doctrines, confirming with stronger sanctions the sentence pronounced against him at Worms in 1521, and at the same time commending, in extravagant terms, and with a highly-wrought eulogy, the rites, doctrines, and forms of worship, of the Papal Church. The emperor, as the general conservator of the peace of the empire, and guardian of the Holy Apostolic Church, imperatively called on all the princes, States and cities, to return to their allegiance to the Romish Hierarchy, and submit to the government and worship of the ancient religion. Severe penalties were announced against the refractory and disobedient. All civil judges who would not subscribe their acquiescence in the mandates of the imperial edict were declared incapable of retaining their seats in the Imperial Chamber of Spires, the high judicatory of the nation. To ensure the rigid enforcement of the edict, the emperor and the Popish princes entered into a solemn compact to unite their efforts, and actively to exert their respective forces.

Immediately after the publication of this edict, the Protestant princes assembled, first at Smalcalde,* and afterward at Frankfurt, and entered into an alliance of mutual defence. Such was the relative position of the parties at the close of this, and throughout the following year. Attempts were made by the

* This was the first effective union of free princes and States against their oppressors, in modern Europe, and laid the foundation of liberty of conscience. (Villiers.)

confederates to induce the Kings of England, France and Denmark, to become parties in the league, without success, however; and every circumstance seemed to portend an open rupture, and a civil commotion in the empire.

Hostilities were for a time averted by the dangers of a foreign invasion by the Ottoman armies, and Charles was compelled to resort to conciliatory measures. In the year 1532, a treaty of peace was concluded at Nuremberg, and concessions were again made to the Reformers. The edicts of Worms and Augsburg were recalled, and an undisturbed enjoyment of their religion was guaranteed to them, under the stipulation that they would assist in carrying on the war against the Turks. This compromise, it was declared, should remain inviolate, until a general council of the Church, or a Diet of the empire, might be convened, for establishing a uniform rule of faith. Thus did Providence again overrule the machinations of the votaries of Rome, and the arbitrary measures of the emperor, for the safety of the Church. This was an important triumph of the Protestants. An increased moral influence was now imparted to the cause of the Reformation. Although in Germany alone, among the most powerful kingdoms in Europe, and in Denmark and Sweden, of the States maintaining a secondary rank in the scale of nations, the Papal authority had received a decided check, the progress of the Reform doctrines was discernible, not only in England, France and Switzerland, but even in Italy and in Catholic Spain. The compromise at Nuremberg, therefore as it gave stability and permanence to Protestantism in Germany, so it emboldened the advocates of its principles everywhere else to assume a more decided stand against the abuses and usurpations of the Roman Hierarchy, and to embrace more openly the tenets of evangelical faith.

The corruption and venality of the Popish clergy had been nowhere more sensibly felt, and more oppressive, than in Sweden and Denmark. The ecclesiastical revenues, in many instances, exceeded those of the crown. Even the nobility were reduced to a state of dependence and degradation. The bishops resided in princely palaces, and fortified their rich domains by strong military fortresses.

At a very early period after Luther had raised the standard of opposition to the See of Rome, the light of Gospel truth was

introduced into Sweden by the bold and indefatigable missionary, Olaus Petri. The revolution in 1523, by which Christiern II., surnamed "the Nero of the North," was expelled from that kingdom, and Gustavus Wasa Erickson restored to the throne of his ancestors, was the commencement of a new era in the ecclesiastical history of that country. This prince having fled into Germany, after the massacre of his father and the senators, with the principal noblemen of Sweden, in 1520, was instructed at Lubeck* in the doctrines of Luther. After his accession to the throne in 1523, he invited into his kingdom the most learned divines of the Lutheran persuasion, and distributed amongst his subjects the Swedish translation of the Bible as prepared by Olaus Petri. Solicitous of investigating the truth in a spirit of Christian charity and forbearance, he also directed the Archbishop of Upsal to furnish another translation of the sacred Scriptures in conformity with the Romish version. By his order, a public discussion on the several points in controversy was maintained at Upsal, between Olaus and Peter Gallius, a zealous advocate of the Popish Church, in 1526. The signal triumph of the Reformer prepared the public mind to receive the truths of the Gospel. In the following year, the States, convened at Westeraas, "reformed the discipline of the ancient Church, reduced the opulence and authority of the bishops within their proper bounds, restored to the impoverished nobility the lands and possessions that their superstitious ancestors had given to an all-devouring clergy, excluded the prelates from the senate, and took from them their castles." Another important measure of reform was, to provide for the churches preachers of intelligence and piety, who were required to instruct their flock in the Swedish language. Another fatal blow was given to the system of Papal usurpation and abuses, by the prohibition of all ecclesiastical preferments without the royal sanction. Thus was reason left free to combat error. Sweden, although far less advanced in the attainments of literature and the sciences; than France, Germany or England, was much earlier blessed by the light of divine truth; and enjoyed, through the wise and liberal policy of her sovereign, that religious liberty for which the peo-

* Lubeck—a free city in the north of Germany, on the river Trave.

ple of enlightened nations of Europe were yet contending. Gustavus declared that he would lay down his sceptre, and cast away his crown, "rather than rule a people enslaved to the power and authority of the Pope, and more controlled by the tyranny of their bishops than by the laws of their monarch." In the year 1528, Protestantism was firmly established, and the king declared the head of the Church.

In tracing the rise and progress of the Reformation in the several States of Europe, we cannot but admire the wonderful providence of God in controlling those great national events, which, apparently unconnected, resulted in the accomplishment of his unsearchable purposes, and in the establishment and triumph of his truth. Monarchs, actuated by different motives, impelled by views of self-aggrandizement, or intent upon the gratification of their lawless desires, were alike the instruments in his hands, for the exhibition of his great power, and the manifestation of his boundless mercies. "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!"

Christiern II., ambitious and cruel, and urged on by an ungovernable thirst for power, was impatient under the spiritual dominion and authority of the Pope of Rome. He aspired to a supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, as well as to an arbitrary control in the government of the nation. His efforts, therefore, to destroy the supremacy of the pontiff in Denmark, and to wrest from the bishops the wealth and influence they had acquired by fraud and impositions on the ignorance and credulity of the people, were not directed by any righteous purpose, or with a view of purifying the Church from its corruptions. He commenced a work of reform in the religious system of the country, not to restore religious freedom to his subjects, nor to secure to them the privilege of worshipping God according to the dictates of conscience, but to subserve his own unholy designs. With these objects in view he determined to introduce into his kingdom the doctrines of Luther. As early as 1520, he invited Martin Reinard, a disciple of Carlstadt, to accept of professorship of divinity at Hafnia. Carlstadt himself afterward occupied that station for a short time.

By the revolution of 1523, Christiern was expelled from t

throne of Denmark,* as well as from that of Sweden; and his uncle, Frederick, Duke of Holstein, succeeded him in the government. This prince, for the equity of his administration, and the mildness of his disposition, was surnamed "the Peaceful." He had embraced the Reform doctrines; but rather tolerated, for a time, the efforts of the Reformers, than defended openly their principles. At a council of the States, however, in 1527, he obtained an edict which placed the Lutherans under the royal protection, and granted to all ecclesiastics the privilege of marrying, and of residing wherever they pleased. By this edict of Odensee, religious liberty was established, and the Reformation extended at once throughout the kingdom. Christiern III., the son and successor of Frederick, accomplished the work of spiritual emancipation, by abolishing episcopacy, and adopting a system of worship and of doctrines in conformity with the primitive Apostolic Church, and the precepts of the sacred Scriptures. In this evangelical reform he was assisted by Bugenhagius, of Wittemberg. In the year 1539, another council at Odensee ratified the acts of the king, and Protestantism was firmly established throughout his dominions.

Thus, without civil commotions or bloodshed, religious liberty, and a pure system of religious worship, were erected, based upon a permanent foundation, and secured by the strongest legislative and executive guaranties, in Denmark and Sweden; while the German empire was still distracted by controversies on doctrines, and armed forces were organizing for a deadly conflict on the battle-field—while the spirit of persecution was revelling in France in the life-blood of its devoted victims—and while the bloody-bill of "the six articles," in England, gave the only equivocal evidence of a reluctant struggle against the tyranny and the merciless domination of the Roman Hierarchy. The progress of the Reformation in those three kingdoms was arrested or restrained by the force of the sovereign authorities. The people were every where prepared to throw off the shackles of a spiritual bondage, and to maintain the rights of conscience.

* One of the charges alleged against Christiern, by the States of Denmark, was, "that he had introduced, against law and religion, the sprouts of the Lutheran heresy in our Catholic kingdom, and had maintained Doctor Carlstadt, the boldest champion of Luther."

The secular arm, directed and controlled by the bigoted potentates who occupied the thrones, sustained the tottering pillars of the Papacy. Had Francis yielded to the general impulse of public sentiment, who doubts that France would have become a Protestant kingdom? Had Charles resisted, with becoming spirit, the artful approaches of the Popish emissaries who besieged his throne, the German empire would have been emancipated from the thralldom of Popish bigotry and superstition.

So general and so pervading was the spirit of religious reformation, that benighted Spain, and oppressed and degraded Italy, were not insensible of those convulsive throes which agitated Europe.

We shall not be surprised that the Reform doctrines found advocates, even in "Catholic Spain," in the beginning of the sixteenth century, when we revert to the earlier history of that country, and trace its ancient relations with that portion of France which occupies the most interesting pages of Albigensian history. The kings of Arragon were the liege lords of Languedoc and Provence;* and the viscounts of those provinces were proprietors of lands in Spain, either by marriage, or under grants from the crown. From this mutual relation between the two countries, the Albigenses were numerous in Arragon as early as the twelfth century. As these sectaries were peculiarly the objects of Papal persecutions, efforts were made to expel them from Arragon, many years before the general crusade against them under the banners of Simon de Montfort. Celestine III. obliged Alphonso II. to publish an edict for their extermination in the year 1194. It is well known, however, that both Alphonso and his son and successor, Pedro II., were averse to any measures of violence against those who had demeaned themselves as peaceful subjects. It was an astounding fact to the zealous Papists of that period, that Pedro was found, masked in black armor, among the slain in the ranks of the Albigenses, after the battle of Muret, in 1213. Hence it was that after this bloody engagement the dispersed Albigenses took refuge in Spain, particularly in the kingdoms of Arragon and Catalonia, south of t

* Roussillon and Montpellier were given by James I. of Arragon to his son James, King of Majorca, whose grandson James sold Montpellier, in 1349, to France.

Pyrenean mountains. Here they established churches, and fearlessly preached their religious doctrines.

In the fourteenth century, Arnaldo of Villanueva, in Arragon, a celebrated physician and chemist, escaped the pursuit of his enemies, and the flames, by flying to Sicily. In the following, or fifteenth century, Raimonde de Sebonde was charged with maintaining the heretical opinion—"that all saving truths are contained, and clearly proposed, in the sacred Scriptures." "From 1412 to 1425, a great number of persons who entertained the sentiments of the Vaudois were committed to the flames by the inquisitors of Valentia, Roussillon, and Majorca." Heretics, charged with being Wickliffites, were martyred in the year 1441 by the inquisitors of Arragon and Valentia. In the reign of John II., King of Castille, the father of Ferdinand the Catholic, and in the year 1470, heretics were hunted up in the mountains of Biscay, by an order of Pope Paul II., and driven down like cattle to the slaughter. They were committed to the flames at St. Domingo de la Calzado, and at Valladolid. These examples are sufficient to show, that immediately preceding the sixteenth century, and for more than four hundred years before, heretical opinions were prevalent in Spain.

The inquisitors of heretical pravity in Spain were vigilant and untiring in the pursuit of those who had imbibed the Reform doctrines. At the period when Luther commenced his opposition to the See of Rome few traces of the Albigensian heresy could be discovered, even in the most retired recesses of the Pyrenean and Cantabrian mountains. The work of extermination appeared to have been completed; and the dark clouds of superstition and moral debasement again settled with Cimmerian gloom over the fairest provinces of the Peninsula.

The earliest evidences we have of an inquisitorial institution may be dated back to the year 1184. The humane office of bringing back the recusant and the rebellious into the bosom of Holy Mother Church was confided to the several bishops, who had ample jurisdiction in their respective dioceses. But the indolence, and sometimes the humanity, of these spiritual teachers, encouraged the propagators of heresy: and the number of sectaries who withdrew from communion with the Papal Church increased and multiplied, to the great alarm of the ghostly Father who occupied the chair of St. Peter. A commission was

given to Rainier, a Cistercian monk, and Pierre de Castelnau, Archdeacon of Maguelone, to *inquire* into the religious defection which prevailed in the south of France. Innocent III., the reigning pontiff, invested these legates with no judicial authority, but imposed upon them the duty of extirpating heresy—which, with the assistance of St. Dominic, they discharged with unrelenting severity. Gregory IX., in 1233, formally withdrew from the bishops the apostolic charge of punishing apostates, and by his legate, the Bishop of Tournay, appointed Pierre Cellan and Guillaume Arnaud, Dominican friars, inquisitors of heretical pravity, at Thoulouse. Soon after, another court of inquisition was instituted at Carcassone. Such was the commencement of this dreadful tribunal.

The Dominicans, inspired by renewed zeal, established their courts of inquisition in every principal town in Arragon, before the expiration of the thirteenth century. They were not favorably received in Spain; and it was deemed disgraceful to act as an informer. This repugnance, however, was in time removed through the influences of bigotry and superstition; and that country, before the beginning of the sixteenth century, was more cruelly afflicted by this scourge of Papal tyranny than any other kingdom in Europe.

In 1478, Pope Sixtus IV. issued a bull for establishing an Inquisition in Castille. Ferdinand the Catholic, who, four years before, had succeeded to the crown of Castille in right of Isabel, his consort, readily assented to the measure. In 1431, the court commenced the exercise of its powers in the Dominican convent of St. Paul, at Seville. In 1483 it was regularly organized, with the royal sanction, by friar Thomas Torquemada, who had been appointed Inquisitor-General of Arragon and Castille.

"In the course of the first year," says McCrie,* "in which it was erected, the Inquisition of Seville, which then extended its authority over Castille, committed two thousand persons alive to the flames, burnt as many in effigy, and condemned seventeen thousand to different penances. According to a moderate computation, from the same date to 1517, the year in which Luthe

* See "History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century," p. 83. From this work I have derived, for the most part, the historical relations on this subject.

made his appearance, thirteen thousand persons were burnt alive, eight thousand seven hundred were burnt in effigy, and one hundred and sixty-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-three were condemned to penances ; making in all, one hundred and ninety-one thousand four hundred and twenty-three persons condemned by the several tribunals of Spain in the course of thirty-six years." The writer has referred to Llorente's "Critical History of the Spanish Inquisition," as his authority ; who had been himself Secretary to the Inquisition at Madrid. "In 1490," says the same writer, "many copies of the Hebrew Bible were committed to the flames at Seville, by the order of Torquemada ; and in the auto da fé celebrated soon after at Salamanca, six thousand volumes shared the same fate," &c.

The cruelties exercised by the Inquisition* were not mitigated by the succession of the celebrated Cardinal Ximenes to the office of inquisitor-general. "During the eleven years that he was at the head of this tribunal, fifty-one thousand one hundred and sixty-seven persons were condemned, of whom two thousand five hundred and thirty-six were burnt alive. He held an auto da fé, in which fifty Jews were burnt alive ; *one of the best singings* (says Quintanilla) *that had yet been seen.*"

So meritorious was the work of extirpating heresy by the flames, and so gratifying to the eyes of a Papist was the spectacle of an auto da fé, that Pope Adrian, who was inquisitor-general before his elevation to the pontificate, held that office, with that of supreme pontiff, for nearly two years.

We have seen in the sketch (given in the first chapter) of the political history of Spain, that as early as the middle of the fifteenth century the constitutional rights of the Cortes were infringed by John II. This violation of the fundamental principles of the government was repeated by Charles. From this period the throne assumed and exercised supreme authority. The overthrow of the powers of the nobility removed one of the safeguards which the people had against the arbitrary acts of the monarch. "Formerly the victims of persecution had often found shelter within the independent domains of the nobles, or the privileged walls of great cities." The Reformation in Spain

* Within four years from the appointment of Torquemada, a Dominican, as inquisitor-general, 6,000 persons were burnt alive.

had to struggle against the steady, secret, cruel, and irresistible operations of the inquisitorial tribunal, urged on by the pontiff and sustained by the crown. Under these united influences it flickered and expired within the sixteenth century. "It was during the years 1559 and 1560 that the death-blow was given to the Reform religion of Spain; and during the same period the religious liberties of the Protestants of Germany were finally secured, the Reformed Church was regularly organized in the kingdom of France, England was freed from Popery by the accession of Elizabeth, and the cause of the Reformation, after struggling long for existence, attained to a happy and permanent establishment in Scotland." Thus did God, in mercy, temper the severe dispensations of his providence in the afflictions of the Spanish nation, by the spiritual blessings vouchsafed to other and larger portions of the globe. He has said, "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy;" and "whom he will he hardeneth." "So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy."

The efforts in Spain to propagate the Lutheran doctrines, in the early part of the sixteenth century, were without concert and ineffectual. In 1519 a collection of tracts in the Latin language, written by Luther, were sent from Basle to Spain. Other writings of that Reformer were subsequently printed at Antwerp in the Spanish tongue, and disseminated in some of the provinces of the kingdom. Pope Leo X., and the inquisitors, were vigilant in defeating these incipient attempts "to introduce into Spain the books of Luther and his defenders." The capture of the pontiff in 1527, by the imperial army under the Duke of Bourbon, and the publication in 1530 of "The Confession of Augsburg," encouraged the friends of Reform in Spain. Alfonso Valdes, the Emperor's secretary, seemed to countenance the Lutheran party by letters written from Germany, and by a familiar association with them: and the holy office passed on him a sentence of condemnation. Alonso de Vivero, the chaplain of Charles, had read with pleasure the writings of Erasmus, and conversed with the leading Reformers when he accompanied the court in Germany: he was imprisoned for four years, and then compelled to make a formal abjuration. The public libraries were examined by the officers of the Inquisition. Domestical visits were made by the familiars, and the penalty of ~~any~~

excommunication was threatened against all who interrupted the process, who read or kept heretical books, or who did not give information of those guilty of this offence. An edict was published which "enumerated the different articles of the Lutheran heresy, down to the slightest deviation from the ceremonies of the Church, and required informers to declare "if they knew, or had heard it said, that any person had taught, maintained, or entertained in his thoughts, any of these opinions." Such was the system of *surveillance* and *espionnage*, established by "the Council of the Supreme," and which was introduced into private families, and pervaded every social circle of life.

There is no authentic record of any public and decided efforts to propagate the Reform doctrines in Spain, previous to the year 1535. Juan Valdes, although not a public preacher, contributed by his writings, and private instructions, to give to those doctrines extensive circulation. A Popish historian of the time has remarked, that "Valdes caused a far greater slaughter of souls than all the thousands of heretical soldiery." "The doctrines of justification by faith in Christ, and of regeneration by the agency of the Holy Spirit, form the ground-work in his writings." He was succeeded by Rodrigo de Valer, who was a more fearless defender of the Faith. Valer, however, was soon arrested by the Inquisition, and condemned to imprisonment for life, in 1541. History informs us of other martyrs, between this period and the year 1546. So few were the converts in Spain to the Reform religion, that it was remarked by Pedro Malvenda, a doctor of the Sorbonne, "the heretics boasted more of making a convert of a single Spaniard than of ten thousand Germans."

Previous to the year 1543 Spain was destitute of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue. To this fact may properly be attributed the spiritual blindness which pervaded the whole nation. In 1233, Juan I. of Arragon prohibited by an edict the reading of the Bible in the language of the country; and it was declared heretical for either the clergy or the laity to possess a copy. The edict strictly enjoined it upon all who had, to deliver them to the ordinaries that they might be committed to the flames. A translation, printed in 1478, was immediately destroyed by the orders of the Holy Inquisition.

In the year 1543, Francisco de Enzinas published at Antwerp

"The New Testament, that is, the New Covenant of our only Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ, translated from Greek into the Castilian language. The terms, "*the New Covenant*" and "*our only Redeemer*" were offensive to the monks, to whose inspection the work had been submitted in manuscript, and were accordingly erased. Enzinas presented a copy to the emperor, who delivered it to his confessor. The author was soon after apprehended, and committed to prison, under the charges "of being an enemy to religion, and of having tarnished the honor of his native country."

Other translations of the Scriptures, by Spanish writers, were published at subsequent periods—as that of the New Testament in the year 1556 by Juan Perez, the chaplain of Renata, Duchess of Ferrara, during her residence in the castle of Montargis; another of the whole Bible in 1569 by Cassiodoro de Reyna; a second corrected and improved version by Cypriano de Valera in 1602. A Basque New Testament, in the language of the Biscayans, was published, from the pen of Juan Lizzarago, in Rochelle, in the year 1571, and dedicated to the celebrated Jeanne d'Albret, daughter of the illustrious Margaret, Queen of Navarre. These laudable efforts to disseminate the truth in the kingdom of Spain, were frustrated by the bigotry of the Popish priests and the superstitious ignorance of the people. The translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongues, with the reading of them by the vulgar, was declared by the Spanish divines and the Inquisition to be the true fountain of all heresies." "Francisco Perez del Prado, the inquisitor-general, lamented "that some men carried their audacity to the execrable extreme of asking permission to read the sacred Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, not afraid of finding in them the most deadly poison." A cordon of the inquisitorial police and spies encircled the nation to prevent the importation of books. Every traveller was arrested, and every package was strictly examined, before he was permitted to proceed on his journey. The sacred Scriptures were seized with peculiar exultation and triumph, and immediately committed to the flames.

Notwithstanding the vigilance and the cruel severities exercised by the holy tribunal, there was in the city of Seville a secretly organized church of the Reformers, of which individuals of opulence and of rank were members. What is not less worthy

of remark, "the preacher of the Dominican monastery of St. Paul was zealous in propagating their doctrines;" and there were disciples of the new faith in the convent of St. Elizabeth. In the cathedral of Seville, a sermon was preached in defence of "Justification and the merits of Christ's death;" for which, however, the author was immediately arraigned before the office of the Inquisition. The monastery of San Isidro del Campo admitted the light of divine truth in 1557; and so thorough was the religious reform introduced within its walls, that "nothing remained of the old system but the monastic garb and the external ceremony of the mass, which the officials could not lay aside without exposing themselves to imminent and inevitable danger."* Bibles and Protestant publications, in the Spanish language, had been surreptitiously conveyed to them, and expounded, by Garcia de Arias, better known in the history of the time as Dr. Blanco. At Valladolid, in Leon, as at Seville, the principles of the Reformation were secretly maintained in the convents. In the eastern provinces of the kingdom—in Granada, Murcia, and Valencia—the seeds of heresy were widely disseminated. But in the province of Arragon, at the foot of the Pyrenees, the advocates of the Protestant doctrines were most numerous. In the northern provinces, from the facilities of communication with Bearn, Gascony, Languedoc, and Roussillon, the ancient nurseries of the faith, those doctrines were most widely propagated.

Such was the state of religious feeling in Spain in the year 1557. "So powerful," says a Protestant writer,† "were the doctrines of the Reformation in those days, that no prejudices nor interests were any where strong enough to hinder piously disposed minds, after they came thoroughly to understand them, from embracing them. That the same doctrines have not still the same divine force, is neither owing to their being grown older, nor to Popery's not being so gross, nor to any change in the people's natural dispositions; but is owing purely to the want of the same zeal for those doctrines in their professors; and especially for the three great doctrines of the Reformation, which the following martyrs sealed with their blood: which

* History of the Reformation in Spain, pp. 168, 169.

† Geddes' *Miscell. Tracts*, as quoted by McCrie, p. 179.

were, that the Pope is Antichrist; that the worship of the Church of Rome is idolatrous; and that a sinner is justified in the sight of God by faith, and through Christ's, and not through his own merits." Popish writers themselves,* admit that, "had not the Inquisition taken care in time to put a stop to these preachers, the Protestant religion would have run through Spain like wildfire; people of all ranks, and of both sexes, having been wonderfully disposed to receive it."

In 1556, Philip II. succeeded his father, Charles V., in his hereditary dominions. In the following year he obtained a victory over the French, in the battle of St. Quentin; and another in 1558, at Gravelines. At the close of the year 1557, Charles resigned the empire to his brother, Ferdinand I., and retired into the convent of St. Juste. These political changes were not favorable to the Reformers in Spain. Philip was more bigoted and more cruel than his father. Paul IV., the reigning pontiff, from 1555 to 1559, was of an irascible and violent temper; arrogant in his demeanor, and ambitious in his views. He is distinguished as the author of the *Index Expurgatorius*,† and for his claims to England, as a fief of the Holy See. The inquisitor-general in Spain was the prelate Francisco Valdes; as matured in acts of cruelty and cold-blooded murders as he was in years. The Duke of Alva, renowned for his military achievements, and conspicuous in the pages of history for his barbarities inflicted upon the Protestants in the Netherlands, was the confidential counsellor and approved general of the King of Spain.

The treaty of Chateau-Cambresis, in 1559, restored peace between France, Spain, and England. Philip was therefore at leisure to regulate the internal affairs of his kingdom. In the beginning of this year, measures for the suppression of heresy in Spain, were concerted between the pontiff, the king, and the inquisitor-general. On the 6th of January a Papal bull was issued, requiring all confessors to subject their penitents to a rigid examination, without any regard to their rank or station in life, and to denounce all who might be suspected of heretical opinions. This duty was enjoined upon them under a penalty, for neglect, of the greater excommunication. The

* Paramo, *Hist. Inquis.*, as quoted by McCrie, p. 178.

† A catalogue of works, condemned as heretical, or forbidden to be read.

king, on his part, revived an antiquated statute, which invested, in those giving information against heretics, the fourth part of the property of the condemned. Valdes, with the sanction of Philip, threw his ingredient in the cauldron, by obtaining from Paul a brief, "which authorized the Council of the Supreme, contrary to the established laws of the Inquisition, to deliver over to the secular arm those who had been convicted of having taught the Lutheran opinions, even though they had not relapsed, and were willing to recant." This iniquitous decree operated retrospectively, and was extended to acts previously committed. The conviction for the first heretical offence, if the condemned abjured his error, had never before been carried out by the infliction of a capital punishment.

The severities of the inquisitorial tribunal had expelled from Spain many who cherished the Reform doctrines. The appearance of these refugees in the Netherlands attracted the attention of the Popish priests; and at length excited suspicion of their heretical opinions. The truth was soon elicited by a system of espionage; and through this medium, the strength and movements of the Protestant party in Spain were fully developed. The facts were communicated to "the Council of the Supreme"* in Seville. This vigilant tribunal seemed not apprised of the extent of heretical pravity in the kingdom: but its subsequent activity pursued it through all its ramifications; and most effectual and complete were the efforts for its extirpation.

"The familiars were employed in tracing out the remoter branches of heresy; and guards were planted at convenient places, to intercept and seize such persons as might attempt to escape. These precautions having been taken, orders were issued to the proper agents; and by a simultaneous movement, the Protestants were seized at the same time, in Seville, in Valladolid, and in all the surrounding country." These occurrences took place in the beginning of the year 1558.

Unarmed, and offering not even the appearance of a disposition to resist these acts of violence and oppression, they were helpless victims in the hands of their destroyers. Overwhelmed with consternation, many of them voluntarily appeared before

* This council consisted of the inquisitor-general as president, and three counsellors, two of whom were doctors of law. (McCrie.)

the Council of the Inquisition, and informed against themselves. The castles, the common prisons, the convents, and even private houses, placed under safeguards, were crowded with prisoners. Numbers, in the northern provinces, succeeded in escaping to the mountains, and passed over into France, Germany, and Switzerland. Some, who had fled to foreign countries, were afterward, by stratagem or by force, brought within the reach of the Inquisition, and fell victims to its power. Philip intrigued with the Guises in France, to seize the persons of the Queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, and of her son Henry, and deliver them to the Holy Tribunal. Pius IV., preparatory to this daring measure, had excommunicated Jeanne, and offered her kingdom to the first Popish prince who would engage in the pious undertaking of extirpating heresy from its dominions.

The unresisting Protestants of Spain were cruelly immolated at the altar of Popish bigotry and superstition. Extraordinary powers were delegated by the inquisitor-general to Gonzales Munebrega, Archbishop of Tarragona, and to Pedro de la Gasca, Archbishop of Palencia, to superintend and direct the inquisitorial proceedings; the former at Seville, and the latter at Valladolid. Loathsome and protracted imprisonment, aggravated by every circumstance which could increase their sufferings; the tortures of the rack, and the auto da fé, were every where inflicted upon the persecuted Protestants with the most savage barbarity, and the most unrelenting severity. It is not, however, my design to recite particular instances of the cruel punishments to which they were subjected. The works of the ex-secretary Llorente, of Limborch, Geddes, Lavalle, and innumerable publications on the subject, sufficiently unfold the horrors of the Popish tribunals. "Under what an overwhelming responsibility," exclaims a Spanish author, "must these cannibals appear, one day, before the tribunal of the Deity!" History has informed us that about half a million of those suspected of, or professing the Protestant faith, fell victims to Popish persecutions in Spain.

The Reformation was thus effectually prostrated in that kingdom; and in the year 1570 there was said to have been scarcely a vestige of the Protestant religion throughout that country.

The blood of the martyrs is not always the seed of the Church. It has been, however, when Christians have resorted

to the sword, in order to resist persecution for the Gospel's sake ; as did the Paulicians, the Vaudois, the Albigenses, the Waldenses, the Bohemians, the Lutherans, and the Huguenots. These all, "out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens." Although they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword ; wandered about in sheepskins and goat-skins, in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens, and caves of the earth ; destitute, afflicted, tormented, they have obtained a good report through faith : and if they received not the promise, God provided for us, through them, some better thing, that they without us should not be made perfect."

As a writer has well remarked of those early reformers and noble martyrs of the spiritual cross : "they lived during the period of Antichrist's power, and, according to the adorable plan of Providence, were allowed to fall a sacrifice to his rage ; but while the Scriptures fortell this, they mention it to their honor, and not in the way of fixing blame on them"—"It was given unto the beast to make war with the saints, and to overcome them." The German and French Protestants who drew the sword, and valiantly fought against Papal tyranny and oppression, in defence of their religious liberty and of Gospel truth, reared anew the Church of Christ, "upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone ;" and by the blessing of God, transmitted to all succeeding generations, through all time, a pure and spiritual faith—a noble inheritance secured and sealed to us by their martyr-blood. The Protestantism of the obsequious and craven-spirited Reformers of Spain lies buried in the foul and loathsome dungeons of the Inquisition.

That portion of Italy watered by the tributaries of the Po has always been distinguished for an uncompromising opposition to the arrogant pretensions of the Papal Hierarchy. "In the year 590," as we are informed by Dr. Allix,* in his remarks on the ancient churches of Piedmont, "the bishops of Italy and Switzerland, to the number of nine, rejected the communion of the Pope, as a heretic." This schism commenced in 553 ; when the fifth General Council convened at Constantinople. In the pontificate

* A celebrated French Protestant divine of the seventeenth century.

of Gregory I., these churches refused to be represented in a Council at Rome, denying that the ordinations of their bishops were conferred by the Popes. At the close of the eighth century, Paulinus, Bishop of the church of Aquileia, and other Italian bishops, condemned the decrees of the seventh General Council, at Nice, which established the worship of images. Paulinus himself wrote a treatise on the eucharist, at the request of Charlemagne, and which he dedicated to that monarch. In it he combats the superstitious notions, already countenanced, of the deification of the elements by a priestly consecration. In the beginning of the ninth century, Claude, Bishop of Turin, according to the testimony of the Popish historian, Fleury, "directed his zeal against images, relics, pilgrimages, and crosses." "He only is apostolic," said Claude, "who is the keeper and guardian of the apostles' doctrines, and not he who boasts himself of being seated in the chair of the apostle."

Dr. Allix, in his account of the Paulicians who settled in Italy, known there as Paterines, and of the subsequent removal of some of them to the Netherlands, says: "Here, then, we have found a body of men in Italy before the year 1026, five hundred years before the Reformation, who believed contrary to the opinions of the Church of Rome, and who highly condemned its errors." When Gregory VII., in 1074, issued his decree against the marriage of the clergy, the ecclesiastics of the city of Milan rejected it, and branded the Pope and his adherents as heretics. In the beginning of the twelfth century Arnold of Brescia raised the standard of opposition to the Papal power at the gates of the capitol. Ivo of Narbonne, who fled from the Inquisition, in the middle of the thirteenth century, and took refuge in the north of Italy among the Vaudois, informs us, that, "they had churches in almost all the towns of Lombardy, and in some parts of Tuscany, which sent apt young men to Paris to be instructed in the scholastic logic and theology, with the view of their being qualified for entering the lists with the advocates of the Church of Rome; and that their merchants, in frequenting fairs and markets, made it their business to instil their tenets into the minds of the rich laymen with whom they traded, and the landlords in whose houses they lodged."

In the year 1370 a remarkable emigration of some of the inhabitants of Piedmont occurred. A colony of the Vaudois re-

moved from the valleys of Pragela to *Calabria Citra*, in the kingdom of Naples. A branch of the Appenines, running nearly east and west, divides it from that portion of the province known as *Calabria Ultra*. The soil in both is represented as extremely fertile. Having effected a settlement, with the consent of the proprietors of the land, they were prosperous ; and were distinguished from the original inhabitants, not only by their increasing wealth, but by their industry and moral deportment, and more particularly by their religious tenets and forms of worship. They were punctual in the payment of their rents, and exemplary in the discharge of social duties. The Popist priests were offended, that they paid nothing for masses, had no images in their churches, made no pilgrimages to consecrated places, and employed foreign teachers for the education of their children ; and the cry of *heresy* was raised against this industrious and honest people. They had recommended themselves to their landlords, who found their incomes increased by the industry of their new tenants ; and the priests themselves were quieted by the improved value of their tithes. The colony enjoyed the undisturbed possession of their property, and a toleration of their religious worship. They received accessions to their numbers by those who, from time to time, fled from the persecutions in France and Piedmont. About the year 1500 many of the Waldenses who were driven out of Dauphiny settled in Volturata, north of Calabria ; and subsequently, they were traced on the banks of the Arno, in Tuscany. So widely diffused over Italy were the principles of religious reformation in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

In tracing the moral causes which actuated a spirit of religious reformation, not only in Italy but throughout Christendom, the utter depravity of the ecclesiastical orders must attract our attention with peculiar force. The corruption of the Church had been, for centuries before this era, a subject of universal complaint, and of undissembled animadversion. The Italian writers of the highest celebrity had made this the theme of their most bitter invectives, and of their most pungent sarcasms. In the beginning of the twelfth century commenced the age of the Troubadours in Provence and Languedoc. From their poetical productions sprang the lyrical compositions of Spain and Italy. The vices of the clergy, and the demoralizing tendencies of ec-

clesiastical indulgences, were the favorite subjects of Provençal poetry. "Rome," says one of the Troubadours, "thou hast established thy see in the bottom of the abyss, and of perdition. How much innocent blood hast thou spilt! Falsehood, disgrace and infamy, reign in thy heart. With the exterior of a lamb, thou art within a ravening wolf and a crowned serpent. Go, then, Sirvente, and tell the false clergy, that he who gave them dominion over us is dead." "Indulgences," says another, "pardons, God, and the devil—all, the priests make use of. To some men they allot paradise by their pardons; others, they send to hell by their excommunications. There are no crimes for which pardon cannot be obtained from the monks: for money, they grant to renegades and usurers that sepulture which they deny to the poor who have nothing to pay. To live at ease, to enjoy good fish, fine wheat-bread, and exquisite wines, is their great object during the whole year. God grant me to be a monk, if salvation is to be purchased at this price!"

Dante, the celebrated Italian poet, flourished at a period when the era of *Langue d'oc* versification terminated, or in the close of the thirteenth century. In his "*Divina Comedia*," or Visions in Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, he exhibits the vices of the clergy, in the vividness and deep colorings of the brush wielded by a master's hand. The apostolic successors of St. Peter have not escaped the lashes of his keenest and best conceived satire. "His Hell, as well as his Purgatory," says a modern writer "are peopled with clergy, from popes down to begging friars. One of the personages introduced in his poetical drama—a Cardinal, who, it appears, by an extraordinary fate escaped gloomy imprisonment in hell—describes the luxurious habits and indolence of ecclesiastics, in the following graphic strains:

"Modern shepherds need
Those who on either side may prop and lead them,
So burly are they grown; and from behind
Others to hoist them. Down the palfrey's sides
Spread their broad mantles, so as both the beasts
Are covered with one skin. Oh, patience, thou
That lookest on this, and dost endure so long!"

Petrarch, who succeeded Dante, and was in the zenith of high renown in the middle of the fourteenth century, was more poignant in his sarcasms against the Papal court, than

siding at Avignon. "I am at present," he writes to a friend, "in the Western Babylon, than which the sun never beheld any thing more hideous, and beside the fierce Rhone, where the successors of the poor fishermen now live as kings. Here the credulous crowd of Christians are caught in the name of Jesus, but by the arts of Belial; and being stripped of their scales, are fried to fill the belly of gluttons. Go to India, or wherever you choose, but avoid Babylon, if you do not wish to go down alive to hell. Whatever you have heard or read of as to perfidy and fraud, pride, incontinence and unbridled lust, impiety and wickedness of every kind, you will find here collected and heaped together. Rejoice, and glory in this, O Babylon, situated on the Rhone, that thou art the enemy of the good, the friend of the bad, the asylum of wild beasts, the whore that hast committed fornication with the kings of the earth! Thou art she whom the inspired evangelist saw in the spirit: yes, thee, and none but thee, he saw 'sitting upon many waters.' See thy dress—'A woman clothed in purple and scarlet.' Dost thou know thyself, Babylon? Certainly, what follows agrees to thee and none else: 'Mother of fornications and abominations of the earth.' But hear the rest—'I saw,' says the Evangelist, 'a woman drunk with the blood of the saints, and the blood of the martyrs of Jesus.' Point out another to whom this is applicable but thee."

In his sonnets he thus characterizes the Holy See and the Papal city:

"The fife of wrathful heaven alight,
And all thy harlot tresses smite,
Base city!"

"Foul nest of treason! Is there aught
Wherewith the spacious world is fraught
Of bad or vile?—'tis hatched in thee."

A succession of Italian writers, from the age of Petrarch to the beginning of the sixteenth century, among whom may be mentioned, Boccaccio, Bracciolini, Ariosto, and Berni, continued to depict the moral corruption of the Papal Church, and particularly to expose, by their caustic wit and refined humor, the vices of the ecclesiastics. The popular feeling was thus insensibly prepared to sustain in Italy the movements in favor of a reformation of the Christian Church in France, Switzerland, and

Germany. Indeed the records of history assure us that for centuries before this period, the Italians generally, and particularly the citizens of Rome, entertained less veneration for the persons of the pontiffs, than those did who resided at a distance from the centre of all the abominations which polluted Christendom. The principles of an infidel faith had taken deep root in the minds of the people, and even among the clergy; nor was the Papal chair itself exempt from the general contamination. Comparisons were made, by the ecclesiastics themselves, between God the Father and the Jupiter Optimus Maximus of the ancient Romans;* between the Son and Apollo or Esculapius; and between the Virgin Mary and the heathen goddess Diana. Dante has described this state of utter depravity of the clergy, in his Paradise, in this expressive delineation:

"E'en they whose office is
To preach the Gospel, let the Gospel sleep,
And pass their own inventions off instead."

The prevailing spirit of infidelity, the general depravity of the clergy, and an indifference to the precepts of the Christian religion, proceeding from an entire ignorance of its spirituality, were the great obstacles to the advancement of religious reformation in Italy. "*The Italian vices of the pontiffs*," which resounded in the halls of the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basil, and re-echoed from the distant States of Europe, aroused and provoked the Italians themselves, and made them rally around, and cling more closely to the pontifical throne. This throne had ministered too to their avarice and to their voluptuousness. The Papal system, through its very corruptions and its extortions, increased the wealth of the Italian clergy, and sustained the power and the grandeur of Rome. Italy, therefore, defended Papacy when attacked from without, with a zeal commensurate with its hatred of vital religion, and its attachment to its vices.

* "Erasmus tells of a sermon he heard preached before the Pope, and various cardinals and bishops, on the death of Christ. A great part of the discourse was consumed in lauding the Pope, Julius II., who was portrayed as Jupiter Optimus Maximus, holding and vibrating the three-forked and inevitable thunder in his omnipotent right hand, and ruling everything by his nod alone." (Southey's *Review*, vol. iii.)

The world was however for a time cheered by a transient light of Gospel truth emanating from that benighted corner of Christendom. Laurentius Valla, whom Bellarmine has called "the precursor of the Lutherans," in the beginning of the fifteenth century, had written expositions on the New Testament, with suggestions of an emendation of the Latin Vulgate. This work was revised by Erasmus, and was presented to the learned of Italy as a production of their own country. A correction of the Vulgate, from the original Hebrew and Greek, was afterward published by Isidoro Clario, a Benedictine monk. "In 1516, Erasmus published at Basle his edition of the Greek text of the New Testament, accompanied by a Latin version formed by himself, to which his fame gave an extensive circulation in Italy." Other translations of the sacred Scriptures, issuing from foreign presses, were transported into Italy, and read by those conversant with the languages. The productions of writers who defended the principles of the Reformation were favorably received, and exerted a salutary influence on the public mind in that country. Not only Protestant preachers introduced their doctrines into the heart of the Ecclesiastical States, but many of the higher orders of the Italian clergy were intrepid enough to indulge in severe invectives against the abuses of the Papal power. Ancient prejudices and deeply-rooted opinions were evidently yielding to the force of divine truth. "From the report made us," said Pope Clement VII., "we have learned with great grief of heart that, in different parts of Italy, the pestiferous heresy of Luther prevails to a high degree, not only among secular persons, but also among ecclesiastics and the regular clergy, both mendicant and non-mendicant, so that some, by their discourses and conversation, and, what is worse, by their public preaching, infect numbers with this disease, greatly scandalize faithful Christians, who live under the obedience of the Roman Church and observe its laws, and contribute to the increase of heresies, the stumbling of the weak, and the no small injury of the Catholic faith."

The court of Ferrara, after the marriage of the Duke Hercules II., in 1527, with Renata, daughter of Louis XII., afforded protection to the Reformers who fled from the Popish persecutions in France. The duchess had early imbibed their doctrines, and during her residence in the French court, had extended her pa-

tronage to the distinguished men of that party who were introduced to Francis by Madame de Soubise,* her governess.

The House of Este had been long distinguished as the patrons of literature and the fine arts, and were devoted to the interests of the Papal See. The religious sentiments of the duchess changed for a time the ancient relations which existed between the courts of Ferrara and of Rome. Among the celebrated foreigners of the Protestant party who sought protection in Ferrara about the year 1534 was John Calvin, who, under the assumed name of Charles Heppeville, resided several months in that city. The accession of learned men who resided there not only gave a new lustre to its university, but gave a bias to the instructions imparted there in favor of the Reform doctrines. The Academy of Modena, a city within the Ferrarese, not less celebrated than the university, became, like it, the nursery of Protestantism.

During the pontificate of Leo X., and simultaneously with the movements in Germany, the spirit of reformation exhibited itself on the banks of the Arno. Here a colony of Waldenses had been seated for more than a century. The Italian translation of the Bible from the original by Antonio Brucioli, a native of Florence, and the voluminous commentaries on the sacred Scriptures by the same author, excited a renewed ardor in theological researches, and contributed to a general diffusion of spiritual light throughout Italy. Two other translations by natives of Florence soon after succeeded the literary labors of Brucioli. "Oh, Florence!" exclaimed a friar of that day from the pulpit. "What is the meaning of *Florence*? The flower of Italy; and thou wast so, till these Ultramontanes persuaded thee that man is justified by faith and not by works."

Bologna, or as it was anciently called, Bononia, was then, as it is now, a city comprised within the ecclesiastical territories, or States of the Church. Its university was long the seat of Italian literature, and maintained at this period a rank not inferior to that of any in Europe. John Mollio, a distinguished theologian and erudite scholar, preached within its walls, in the

* Jean de Parthenai, Sieur de Soubise, her son, was afterward a distinguished leader of the Protestant party in France. Antoine de Pons, Count de Mareuil, married her daughter, Anne de Parthenai, and adhered to the Protestant cause until the death of his wife. (McCrie's Hist. Refor. in Italy.)

year 1533, the doctrine of Justification by Faith ; and in a public discussion with Cornelio, the professor of metaphysics, triumphantly defended the theses he had advanced on the several tenets of the Reform party. The discomfited metaphysician alleged against his adversary a charge of heresy, and Pope Paul III. arraigned him before the court of Rome. The judges, unable to refute his arguments, were constrained to decide that his opinions were scriptural, but pronounced them at the same time incompatible with the principles of Popery, and dangerous to the Apostolical See. The knowledge of divine truth thus introduced into the university, extended itself among the people. "In a letter written in the year 1541, Bucer congratulates them on their increasing knowledge and numbers ; and, in 1545, Baldassare Altieri writes to an acquaintance in Germany, that a nobleman in that city was ready to raise six thousand soldiers in favor of the evangelical party, if it was found necessary to make war against the Pope."*

From the commencement of the controversy between Luther and the pontiff, the importunities for the reform of the Papal Church, which had been long before presented to the court of Rome, became more imperative in their tone. The head of the Church, whose interest it was rather to cherish than to correct abuses, evaded the repeated and multiplied remonstrances against the prevailing abuses ; and by intrigues and the refined arts of diplomacy succeeded in defeating the popular will. In the year 1537, Pope Paul III., to quiet the general discontent, assumed the appearance of a design to remedy the evils complained of, and appointed a council of cardinals and prelates to meet at Bologna, and deliberate on the subject. They reported to that pontiff that "the ecclesiastical body (from its head to its members) labored under a pestiferous malady, which, if not cured, would prove fatal." "Among the evils which called for a speedy remedy, they specified : the admission of improper persons to the priesthood ; the sale of benefices ; the disposition of them by testaments ; the granting of dispensations and exemptions ; and the union of bishoprics, including the incompatible offices of cardinal and bishop." "Some of your predecessors,"

* See McCrie's *Refor. in Italy*, p. 98. From this work I have drawn for the most part what is written on this subject. His authorities are unquestionable.

they said in their *consilium* or advice to the pontiff, "having itching ears, have heaped to themselves teachers according to their own lusts, who, instead of instructing them what to do, were expert in finding out reasons to justify what they wished to do, and encouraged them in their simoniacal practices, by maintaining their right to dispose, at their pleasure, of all ecclesiastical property."

The *Consilium* was deposited in the archives of the Vatican. The cardinals who were in the council continued to enjoy their several bishoprics; and Cardinal John Peter Caraffa, who was one of them, inserted the *Consilium* in his "Index Expurgatorius," or list of prohibited publications, after his elevation to the pontificate;* and thus pronounced his own act seditious and heretical, and equally condemned his predecessor for having published it. The clergy, on their part, censured the Pope and the council "for ordering a reformation of manners, and thereby acknowledging the existence of corruptions, and countenancing the detracting speeches which heretics circulated among the vulgar." The remedy was not applied: "but where sin abounded, the grace of God did much more abound;" and Bologna, from which were issued some of the severest Papal edicts against heresy, increased and multiplied in the Faith.

Venice, from the form of its government and its commercial character, resisted with greater firmness than any other of the Italian States the arbitrary assumptions and the cruel enactments of the Papal court. Its proud and powerful aristocracy disdained the interference and control of any foreign government in the administration of its political affairs; and its extensive commercial relations dictated the policy of protecting the rights and interests not only of its own citizens, but of all others whom the inducements of trade had brought within its dominions. There even existed among the Venetians a distrust of the friendship of Rome. Hence it was that all attempts of the pontiffs to establish the Inquisition in the Venetian territories had been resisted with an uncompromising spirit and resolution. An intercourse with foreign nations had introduced their science and improvements; and the

* "Cardinal Quirini at first asserted," says McCrie, on the authority he refers to, "that it was originally printed by the Protestants; but he afterward found two copies of it printed at Rome, in 1538, by the authority of Pope Paul III."

cultivation of the arts and a love of literature had early distinguished them as a people enlightened and liberal. Printing presses were established; and Venice provided a safe and ready mart not only for the productions of art, but for those of the literature of other countries. Books transported from other parts of Europe as articles of trade, found there an open market. Thus the spirit of commerce fostered the genius of literature.

Through this channel the writings of the Reformers were safely introduced into Italy; and both Swiss and German Protestants exported their works, and consigned them to the merchants of Venice. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that an early and a deep interest was felt there in the progress of the Reformation; and that those attached to its cause contemplated the organization of a Christian Church in the year 1538. There is on record a letter addressed to Luther, in the year 1542, by Altieri, "in the name of the brethren of the Church of Venice, Vicenza and Treviso." "It was in this city that versions of the Bible, and other religious books, in the vulgar tongue, were chiefly printed." The senate seemed favorably disposed toward the Lutheran doctrines; and Melancthon, mistaking the temper of that body, addressed a letter to them, "exhorting them to employ their care and authority for advancing the Divine glory, a service which is most acceptable to God." Appearances, at least, were encouraging to the Reformers.

Milan, which, in the middle of the eleventh century, boldly maintained its ecclesiastical independence against the arbitrary acts of Gregory VII., and in the middle of the thirteenth still cherished the tenets of the Paterines, fostered, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the doctrines of Luther and Zwingli.

In the year 1536, "noble persons of both sexes, belonging to a sect holding and observing the tenets of one friar Batista de Crema, by which many heresies condemned by the ancient Church were fostered," are charged by Pope Paul III. with holding conventicles "in the religious and illustrious State of Milan;" and the bishop is commanded by his Holiness "to make inquisition after these conventicles and heretics, and to see that condign punishment was inflicted on the guilty, so that the pravity sown by the devil might be extirpated before it had time to shoot up and strengthen."

By the ministerial labors of Bernardino Ochino, a native of Sienna, in Tuscany, and of Peter Martyr, a native of Florence,

a Reform Church was established in Naples. In the Neapolitan territories, the descendants of the Vaudois colonies, and of the Waldenses, were numerous. The truths of the Gospel were therefore disseminated in a congenial soil; and the fruits of these revivals appeared in Sicily. Lucca, Pisano, the Siennese, Mantua, Locarno and Ancona, and even Rome itself, were severally visited by the missionaries of the cross; and in all the power of the truth was more or less exhibited. Staphylo, Bishop of Sibari, at a meeting of the Apostolical Rota, held in Rome, after the departure of the imperial army, in the year 1527, denounced the abominations which reigned in the Papal city. In the presence of the pontiff, he exclaimed, in his discourse, "Whence, I pray, have such calamities befallen us? Because we are citizens not of the holy city of Rome, but of Babylon, the wicked city. The word of the Lord spoken by Isaiah is accomplished in our times. 'How is the faithful city become an harlot!' It was full of judgment and holiness; righteousness formerly dwelt in it; now, sacrilegious persons and murderers! Formerly it was inhabited by a holy nation, a peculiar people, but now by the people of Gomorrah, a depraved seed, wicked children, unfaithful priests, the companions of thieves!" Such was the unconscious testimony given by a high prelate of the Church of its utter corruption and depravity. These exposures weakened in the mind of the people their veneration for the supposed sanctity of the ecclesiastical orders, and prepared them for the reception of more evangelical faith, a more holy religion, and a purer priesthood. Providence seemed, by these unlooked-for means, to have removed the most formidable obstacles to the progress of the Reformation in Italy. "In several cities," says Fra Paolo, as quoted by McCrie, "and particularly at Faenza, which was situated within the territories of the Pope, sermons were delivered in private houses against the Church of Rome; and the number of those named Lutherans, or, as they called themselves, Evangelicals, increased every day."

Among the Italians there were many who accorded with the Bishop of Sibari, and wished to accomplish no other reform in the Papal Church than that of the morals of the clergy; they still adhered tenaciously to its doctrines and forms of worship, and cherished an unshaken attachment to the Holy See. Others, maintaining a firm allegiance to the Roman Hierarchy, defended

the tenets of the Lutherans. The third, and undoubtedly the smallest class of Reformers, coincided with the Protestants in all their principles and measures, and would have co-operated with them in the entire subversion of the whole Papal system. These were more numerous, however, than the Popish historians of that day were willing to admit.

The firm advocates of Popery, with all its vices and deformities, betrayed their apprehensions of the spirit of religious reformation exhibited under some of the forms which I have mentioned, and which pervaded the whole community. Cardinal Caraffa, afterward Pope Paul IV., declared in his letter to Paul III., that "the whole of Italy was infected with the Lutheran heresy, which, he said, had been extensively embraced both by statesmen and ecclesiastics." "Sadolet complains, in his letter to the nephew of the Pope, that the ears of his Holiness were so pre-occupied with the false representations of flatterers, as not to perceive that there was an almost universal defection of the minds of men from the Church, and an inclination to execrate ecclesiastical authority." The Protestants were, on the other hand, elated by the cheering prospects in Italy. "See," said one, "see how the Gospel advances even in Italy, where it is so much borne down, and exults in the near prospect of bursting forth, like the sun from a cloud, in spite of all opposition."

But there were counteracting causes in operation which eventually disappointed the sanguine hopes of the Reformers; and the Gospel became again enveloped in the gloomy shades of impenetrable darkness.

The controversy which arose between the Swiss and German Reformers on the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist, equally divided the evangelical Churches in Italy. The conference at Marpurg, which has been mentioned, produced but a temporary reconciliation between the parties. The subject was not long after introduced again, and discussed with an increased acerbity of temper. There was now no middle ground of compromise between the disputants; and neither the mild and conciliating language of Melancthon, nor the Christian admonitions and advice of Bucer could moderate the intemperate zeal of the controversialists. At this eventful crisis the Italian Reformers were divided on those doctrines for the defence of which the sword of persecution was already suspended over their heads. We have

the most undoubted evidence of a disposition on the part of the Italians to waive all differences of opinion on this subject. It was in this spirit that the Venetian Protestants addressed a letter to Luther, under a false impression, however, that these differences had been reconciled, and that harmony was restored to the Churches in Germany and Switzerland. The veneration they entertained for the character of that leading Reformer, induced them to throw themselves upon his counsel. Never had a more favorable opportunity offered of tranquillizing the internal dissensions which then agitated the Protestant Churches. But the uncompromising temper of Luther renewed and embittered still more the exasperated feelings which had divided the parties: and that division exists to the present day. In his reply to the Venetians, he styles the Swiss divines, sacramentarians and fanatics, and pronounces "the Popish tenet of transubstantiation more tolerable than that of Zwingle." In a letter subsequently written, he incites the Italians to array themselves against Zwingle and Oecolampadius, whom he stigmatized as "poisonous teachers—false prophets;" and accused them "of disputing, not under the influence of error, but from a willful opposition to the truth, at the instigation of Satan." To aggravate the contention, he distributed in Italy his writings against the Swiss divines, translated into the Italian tongue.

Another subject of controversy, but not between Zwingle and Luther, was the doctrine of the Trinity. This is supposed to have arisen from the remains of the ancient and long exploded tenets of the Arians. In the year 1531, Michael Servetus, a native of Villanueva, in Arragon, published his writings against this fundamental doctrine of the Bible; and from this arose soon after the sect of the Socinians, who have been traced, at this early period, in every State in Europe. Advocates of this doctrine were as numerous in the Papal as in the Reform Church; and are alluded to here as having contributed to the distractions which agitated the Italian churches.

The court of Rome was not aroused from its lethargy, during the progress of heresy in the Italian States, before the year 1542. Paul III., of the family of Farnese, then occupied the Papal chair. He was a pontiff who seemed more intent upon the gratification of his licentious appetites and libidinous propensities than the spiritual edification of the Church. Keisling, Schelhorn,

and other writers, have represented him as "a perfidious politician, whose predominant qualities were dissimulation and fraud." The annals of the times record his amorous exploits, and the adventures of his adulterous intercourse. His voluptuous habits made him insensible of the dangers which the propagation and growth of the Reform doctrines in Italy were accumulating around him. The prelates and the friars were importunate and loud in their demands of a summary process for the suppression of heretical pravity.

Paul was not deficient in moral courage, when excited into action ; nor did he hesitate, when the emergency demanded, to exercise all the prerogatives of his office to carry out his purposes. This character he exhibited in his contest with Henry VIII. of England, when, in 1535, he suspended over that monarch a bull of excommunication for having ordered the execution of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester ; and soon after fulminated it against him, when he took the daring step of suppressing the religious houses in his kingdom.

The Protestants in Italy felt the full force of this peculiar trait in the character of the pontiff, when they became the objects of spiritual censure. He resorted at once to the most decisive and effectual measures for their destruction. On the 1st of April, 1543, he established in Rome "the Congregation of the Inquisition," or, as it is otherwise called, "of the Holy Office," "for taking cognizance of heresies, apostacy, magic, and profane writings." Jealous of the high prerogatives of an inquisitor-general, Paul distributed the powers of this office among six cardinals, and vested in them an authority, on both sides of the Alps, commensurate with that of the Inquisitor-General of Spain.

This measure was resisted by the Venetians ; and they succeeded in their opposition so far as to introduce into the inquisitorial court of that city certain civil officers and lawyers, whose duty it was to protect the accused from groundless and vexatious prosecutions. It was the determined policy of the Pope, and of the Congregation of the Inquisition, to carry up to Rome all cases of importance for trial and final adjudication ; and in this they eventually succeeded by stratagem and a temporizing policy. They accomplished their object by countenancing, and sometimes by openly sustaining, the popular clamor against the local Inquisitions. When the citizens of Naples rose in arms

against the Inquisition established there in 1546,* the pontiff aware of the strength of the popular prejudice against the institution itself, yielded to the force of public opinion and sanctioned the opposition, by saying to them—that “they had reason for their fears, because the Spanish Inquisition was extremely severe, and refused to profit by that of Rome, of which none had had reason to complain during the three years in which it had existed.” Pope Pius IV. adopted the same cunning policy when Philip II., of Spain, attempted to establish an Inquisition in Milan, by the suggestion of that pontiff. To the threatened resistance of the Milanese, Pius replied, that “he knew the extreme rigor of the Spanish inquisitors, and would take care that the Inquisition in Milan should be maintained in dependence on the court of Rome—whose decree, he said, respecting the mode of process was very mild, and reserved to the accused the most entire liberty of defending themselves.” By such arts the people were insensibly seduced into a passive acquiescence in these terrible institutions, and the Congregation of the Holy Office in Rome exercised the powers of the supreme tribunal in Italy.

The establishment of the Inquisition in Rome in 1543, sealed the doom of Protestantism in Italy. Spies were dispersed over the country, who insinuated themselves into private families traced every vestige of heresy, gave secret information of their discoveries; and all who fell under their suspicions, were arrested, and arraigned before the Holy Office at Rome.

The succession to the Papal chair of the Cardinal de Monte, as Julius III., in 1549, was fatal to the Church of Ferrara. “While this indolent pontiff wallowed in voluptuousness, he signed, without scruple or remorse, the cruel orders which were dictated by those to whom he entrusted the management of public affairs.” Renata had been the protectress of all who professed the Reform doctrines, and sought refuge at her court. Her husband was urged to remonstrate with her; which course proving ineffectual, his Holiness advised the interference of her nephew, Henry II., King of France. Ortiz, the confessor of Henry, was sent to the court of Ferrara, with authority (by the consent of the Duke) to resort, if necessary, to compulsory

* Established by the Emperor Charles V. for the extirpation of the Lutheran heresy—a measure in which the wily pontiff felt the deepest interest.

measures with the Duchess, and even "to sequester her from all society and conversation, and to remove her children from her." In 1555, she conceded to the demands of the pontiff; but on the death of her husband, in 1559, she removed to the castle of Montargis, near Paris, and there continued to extend her protection to the Protestant party.

The citizens of Venice had consented to the establishment of the Inquisition; and in 1560 it commenced its operations for the suppression of heresy. The convicted were consigned to a watery grave in the Gulf, during the solemn silence of the night; as the familiars feared to shock the sensibilities of the populace, who were averse to the barbarous infliction of the pains of an auto da fé at the stake.

In no part of Italy were the horrid cruelties of the Inquisition more signally displayed than in Milan. Here the court of Rome was zealously sustained by the sovereigns of Spain, whose dominions embraced that territory. During the reign of Philip II., the most savage barbarities were exercised by that tribunal. Thus were the vestiges of the Reformation successively obliterated in the several States of Italy. The work of extermination was carried on and completed without an effort on the part of the Reformers to check its progress by a resort to arms. They yielded submissively, or fled to foreign countries; they submitted their necks to the halter, and their bodies to the flames; like sheep they were lead to the slaughter; and in their graves were deposited the last hopes of Protestantism in Italy.

There remains yet one other scene to be depicted, and I shall close this short sketch of the history of the Reformation in Italy.

At the period of these persecutions, the colony of Vaudois in Calabria had increased to a population of four thousand persons. Entertaining the opinions professed by the Church of Geneva, a fraternal communion was formed between those two societies of Christians. This circumstance attracted the attention of the inquisitorial spies, and information was given to the sacred college in Rome. Two monks were accordingly sent to *inquire into*, and to suppress the heresy of the Ultramontanes, as the inhabitants of the Calabrias were then called. They visited the town of Santo Xisto, at the foot of the Appenines, and assured the inhabitants that the object of their mission was peaceful; advising them, however, to dismiss their spiritual teachers, and

to receive those appointed by the ordinary. A day was allotted for the celebration of mass, and they were required to attend. This they not only refused to do, but, being apprehensive of danger, they retreated to the mountains. The monks passed on to La Guardia, and persuaded the inhabitants to celebrate mass by assuring them that the citizens of Santo Xisto had renounced their errors, and entered again into communion with the Papal Church. Two companies of foot soldiers were ordered to pursue the fugitives in the mountains. Having discovered their retreat, they fell upon them like savage beasts of prey, crying out with infuriate triumph—*Ammazzi, ammazzi!* murder them, murder them! Driven to extremities, the Waldenses turned upon their pursuers, and drove them to the plains. These occurrences took place in the year 1558.

For this defensive act of a few fugitives from persecution, all Calabria was declared to be in a state of rebellion against the government. Through the persuasion of the monks and the inquisitors, the Viceroy of Naples delivered over, by a proclamation, the town of Santo Xisto to the fire and the sword, and offered to those, who had been proscribed for crimes, a full pardon if they would assist in the extermination of the heretics. The *Bannitti*, conversant with the secret recesses of the mountains, tracked out the miserable fugitives and slaughtered them without mercy. The few who escaped the sword perished from hunger and exposure to the cold and inclemency of the season. La Guardia was next visited by the army under the direction of the inquisitors. Seventy of its inhabitants were seized and sent in chains to Montalto. There they were subjected to the most excruciating tortures. They were placed on the horrid instrument called *the Hell*; they were beaten with iron rods; were dragged through the streets; were precipitated from the Tower; their bodies were covered with pitch and then burnt; and they were lacerated until their bowels gushed out. Such were the several modes of punishment inflicted upon the inhabitants of La Guardia by Panza, the inquisitor. "The manner in which persons of the tender sex were treated by this brutal inquisitor," says the historian,* "is too disgusting to be related. Sixty females were put to the torture, the greater part of whom died

* McCrie—References to Perrin and Leger.

in prison in consequence of their wounds remaining undressed." Whoever dared to intercede for these devoted victims were instantly put to the torture as heretics.

In 1560, Pope Pius IV. promised to the brother of the Marquis di Buccianici a cardinal's hat if he would extirpate heresy from the province of Calabria. I shall here insert a portion of the lengthy account given by an eye-witness of the occurrences. The writer was a Papist, and the letter was addressed to Ascanio Caraccioli.

"Having written you from time to time what has been done here in the affair of heresy, I have now to inform you of the dreadful justice which began to be executed on these Lutherans early this morning, being the 11th of June. And, to tell you the truth, I can compare it to nothing but the slaughter of so many sheep. They were all shut up in one house as in a sheep-fold. The executioner went, and bringing out one of them, covered his face with a napkin, or *Benda*, as we call it, led him into a field near the house, and, causing him to kneel down, cut his throat with a knife. Then, taking off the bloody napkin, he went and brought out another, whom he put to death after the same manner. In this way the whole number, amounting to eighty-eight men, were butchered. I leave you to figure to yourself the lamentable spectacle, for I can scarcely refrain from tears while I write; nor was there any person who, after witnessing the execution of one, could stand to look on a second. The meekness and patience with which they went to martyrdom and death are incredible. Some of them at their death professed themselves of the same faith with us, but the greater part died in their cursed obstinacy. I still shudder while I think of the executioner with the bloody knife in his teeth, the dripping napkin in his hand, and his arms besmeared with gore, going to the house and taking out one victim after another, just as the butcher does the sheep which he means to kill. Even to-day, a decree has passed that a hundred grown up women shall be put to the question, and afterward executed, in order that there may be a complete mixture, and we may be able to say, in well-sounding language, that so many persons were punished, partly men and partly women."

A Neapolitan historian* has given an account of the cruelties

* Tommaso Costo.

of the persecution of the Waldenses in Calabria, and his statement will be inserted as confirmatory of the narration of the letter-writer just quoted. "Some had their throats cut, others were sawn through the middle, and others thrown from the top of a high cliff: all were *cruelly* but *deservedly* put to death. It was strange to hear of their obstinacy; for while the father saw his son put to death, and the son his father, they not only exhibited no symptoms of grief, but said joyfully, that they would be angels of God: so much had the devil, to whom they had given themselves up as a prey, deceived them." When the inquisitors became weary of the butchery of these obstinate heretics, the remnant was disposed of by consigning the men to the Spanish galleys, and selling, as slaves, the women and the children. The brother of the Marquis di Buccianici was rewarded by his Holiness, for these cold-blooded murders, with the scarlet hat and the purple mantle of a cardinal, and brought within the legitimate line of the apostolic succession, qualified by his meritorious deeds to occupy the chair of St. Peter in Rome.

The accession of Pius V. was followed by a series of the most unheard of barbarities towards the heretics in Italy. This pontiff, known before his election as Michael Ghisleri, was of an austere and melancholy temper.* His reign was signalized by the excessive severities against heresies; and particularly by the promulgation of the famous bull, "*In Cæna Domini*," which is read publicly at Rome every year on the festival of the Holy Sacrament.† He ascended the Papal throne in the year 1566.

This persecution against the Italian Protestants removed the last vestiges of them which have been traced, either in the cities or in the provinces.‡ "At Rome," said a cotemporary writer,

* Mosheim; from whose delineation I have drawn the character of Pope Pius V.

† See Appendix, at the close of the volume, under B.

‡ In the middle of the seventeenth century the Reformation had not been suppressed in the small province of Valteline, in the country of the Grisons. To accomplish this the Romish clergy invited the Spaniards who were in possession of the Duchy of Milan, to reduce this canton to the dominion of the Pope. The consequence was a most dreadful massacre of the Protestants. "Upwards of five hundred persons suffered in this small territory, and all the stores of cruelty were exhausted in the invention of tortures. The mouths of some were filled with gunpowder, which was immediately exploded; infants were murdered at their mother's breasts; and so complete was the slaughter that the Protestant religion was forever extirpated." (Ruter from Formey.)

in 1568, "some are every day burnt, hanged, or beheaded: all the prisons and places of confinement are filled, and they are obliged to build new ones. That large city cannot furnish gaols for the numbers of pious persons who are continually apprehended. A distinguished person, named Carnesecchi, formerly ambassador to the Duke of Tuscany, has been committed to the flames." Another remarks, "We know not what becomes of people here. I am terrified every morning when I rise, lest I should be told that such and such a one is no more: and, if it should be so, we durst not say a word." Pius was canonized for his saintly piety in 1712 by Clement XI.

CHAPTER VII.

At the close of the year 1529, Sweden alone can be said to have established religious freedom on a permanent basis. The wisdom and energy of Gustavus Wasa had consummated the Reformation; the Papal empire was entirely overthrown; and the king himself, under the new organization of the Church on Lutheran principles, was its acknowledged head. In Denmark, although the celebrated edict at Odensee in 1527, dictated by the enlightened policy of Frederick I., of the family of Holstein, had granted a universal toleration of religious opinions, and the royal protection was especially extended to all subjects embracing the Reform faith, a complete religious reformation was not established before the year 1539, under the reign of Christiern III. Germany was still convulsed by religious controversies. The princes and imperial cities professing the Lutheran tenets had *protested* against a decree at Spire, and the seventeen articles of Torgau, containing an exposition of their faith, had been drawn up; but a civil war still impended over the empire, and the physical force of the country evidently preponderated on the side of the Papal party, strengthened, too, by the arm of the government. Many of the cantons of Switzerland had adopted the Reform doctrines in accordance with the opinions of Zwingli, and numerous churches were organized on those principles; but at the period to which we have particular reference a bloody contest threatened to desolate that unhappy country. The emissaries of Clement were active in their efforts to arouse the citizens of the Popish cantons in defence of the ancient Church, and for the suppression of heresy. So unremitting and merciless had been the persecution in France, sustained by the

bigotry of the king,* that few could now be found who openly professed the Protestant faith.

It was at this period, when Henry VIII. had but touched with a gentle hand some of the abuses of the Papal Church, that a series of the most interesting and momentous events commenced, which led to the final emancipation of England from the thralldom of Rome.

History informs us that the successors of St. Peter have not scrupled to exercise the high prerogative of annulling the marriages of princes, and even of powerful monarchs, when they could do so with impunity. In the close of the tenth century, Gregory V. pronounced the marriage of Robert, King of France, with his cousin Bertha, unlawful and void, excommunicated him, and placed his kingdom under an interdict, and forced him to a compliance with the Papal edict. Alexander VI. annulled the marriage of Louis XII. with Jane, the daughter of Louis XI., with whom he was remotely connected by ties of relationship, to remove the only legal obstacle to the marriage of that monarch with Anne, the widow of Charles VIII., and heiress of Bretagne. At a more modern period, Pope Pius VII. gratified the ambitious views of Napoleon Buonaparte by dissolving his matrimonial union with the Empress Josephine. Clement would readily have complied with the demand of Henry for a divorce from the queen, had he not feared the anger of the Emperor Charles. Providence thus interposed a difficulty which the pontiff was unable to remove. He apprehended the consequences of his refusal. Charles was inexorable; Henry was importunate, but unyielding; and Clement, in the extremity of his situation, adopted a course which wrested from him the richest jewel of the triple-crown.

Henry gave the first exhibition of his power, by divesting Wolsey, a cardinal and legate of the Pope, of his spiritual prerogatives. By an obsequious Parliament he lopped off some of the luxuriant branches of Popery, against the will of the bishops and clergy; and by virtue of his royal authority he proceeded to other measures more energetic and decisive.

* "When Dymond Levoy was burned, with five others, in 1528, Francis went bare-headed to witness the execution, and was accompanied by a procession of priests and monks." (Browning.) A bigoted monarch and a persecuting clergy were meet associates in deeds of blood

The question of the legitimacy of the king's marriage with the widow of his brother, was referred to the several universities of Europe. Those on the continent expressed, without hesitation, opinions decidedly against it; not excepting Bologna, which was immediately under the jurisdiction of the Pope. Oxford and Cambridge, from their aversion to the Reform doctrines, hesitated to sanction a measure which might weaken the authority of the court of Rome, but eventually confirmed the judgment of the other universities.*

Henry renewed his application to Clement, who replied by summoning the king to appear in person or by proxy before his tribunal at Rome. Such was the relation of the parties at the commencement of the year 1531. Henry rejected the citation as derogating from his royal dignity. On the 16th of January Parliament convened; and as this was its first session, the convocation of Canterbury was also summoned by the king's writ.†

The clergy were made to feel, with their full weight, the consequences of the disappointment which had excited the anger of the king. By the advice of his secretary, Thomas Cromwell, an indictment was ordered to be brought against them, for having violated the Statute of Provisors. This, it will be recollected, had been arbitrarily revived in the case of Wolsey; and as that prelate had not pleaded the royal sanction for exercising the legatine authority, the clergy were charged with the guilt of a *præmunire* for having submitted to it. The convocation passively submitted to the sentence of condemnation, and threw themselves upon the mercy of the king. To secure the royal favor they voted to grant to him £100,000, "as a *benevolence* for

* The convocations of Canterbury and York declared the marriage contrary to the law of God—"with which no human power had authority to dispense."

† The King, before the meeting of every new Parliament, directs his writ to each Archbishop to summon a convocation in his peculiar province. These are the Councils of the Church in England. They were first summoned by Edward I. for obtaining subsidies from the clergy. By statutes of Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and Charles II., they were gradually divested of their powers. In the reigns of William III., and of Anne, they acquired an importance in history, from the attempts of the High-Church party to invest in them new powers as ecclesiastical tribunals. Since that period, convocations have been prorogued as soon as they were assembled. (Brande's Encyc. and Blackstone's Com.)

his services in writing against Luther, and for protecting the Church!" In consideration of this act of their bounty, an act of Parliament was passed, "granting a free pardon to the clergy of all spiritual offences: with a proviso, that it should not extend to the province of York, unless its convocation would grant a subsidy in proportion, or unless its clergy would bind themselves individually to contribute as bountifully." These concessions, however, were not entirely satisfactory to Henry, and he required them to acknowledge him as "the protector and supreme head of the Church and clergy of England." This they acceded to; but adroitly inserted a qualifying clause in the confession admitting his supremacy, "in so far as is permitted by the law of Christ." So averse were the whole body of the clergy to a withdrawal from the See of Rome.

The royal pardon was afterward, upon an humble petition sent up to the throne, equally extended to the laity.

The revival of a statute of Richard II., which was believed to have been long before obsolete, and the rigor of its enforcement against all subjects within the realm accepting of a *living* by any foreign provision, or bringing over from beyond sea any citation or excommunication, was an effectual check to any further Papal usurpations, and was indeed a virtual dissolution of the union between the Roman and the Anglican Churches. Such was the entire ascendancy of the authority of the throne.

Soon after these occurrences, the queen was required to withdraw from the court at Windsor. The pontiff remonstrated against the indignity, and the king rejoined with not a little asperity of feeling. This was followed by an intimation that another citation would be issued, demanding his appearance in Rome. Henry, who, it seems, was not yet prepared to renounce altogether the Papal authority, sent Edward Karne and Edmund Bonner to Rome, in the character of his *excusators*. The most influential cardinals were seduced by bribes to favor the cause of the king; but the Pope prevaricated, and delayed to give a satisfactory reply. The excusators at length said, that, "as the Church of England was an independent Church, the matter could be decided without any reference to him whatever."

On the 15th of January, 1532, Parliament assembled. An act was passed against levying *annats*, or a year's rent, of all the bishoprics which became vacant. This was a fine paid to the

Pope, as head of the Church, by one promoted to an ecclesiastical benefice, and supposed to amount to one year's value of the benefice. "Since the second of Henry VII.," says Hume, "no less than one hundred and sixty thousand pounds had been transmitted to Rome, on account of this claim. This was reduced to five per cent. on all the Episcopal benefices." These payments however, were subject to the control of the crown; and it was further provided by the statute, that Papal censures on account of this law should not be regarded, and that mass should be said and the sacraments administered notwithstanding.

The *Commons* still evinced an alacrity in carrying on the work of Reform: and they presented to the king an elaborate statement of the abuses and oppressions of the ecclesiastical courts, and an appeal for their redress: but Parliament adjourned before this object was accomplished.

Parliament was again convened in April, and the king submitted to them the two oaths taken by the bishops on their installation: the one to the king, and the other to the Pope.* These were believed to be incompatible: but while the proposal to abolish the latter was under deliberation, the breaking out of the plague dispersed the members.

At this period occurred the memorable interviews between the kings of England and of France, at Boulogne, and at Calais. Not only their mutual personal friendship, but their public alliance, was confirmed. Henry endeavored to persuade Francis to imitate his example, in resisting the authority of the Pope, and in withdrawing from all connection with the See of Rome: and vainly flattered himself that his arguments and persuasions had exerted an influence on the mind of that bigoted monarch. This circumstance renders it probable that Henry had then fully determined to withdraw his obedience from the pontiff, and to establish a Church of England independent of that of Rome. He was, at all events, resolved to delay no longer his marriage with Anne Boleyn: and that ceremony was accordingly performed on the 25th of January, 1533.

Dr. Thomas Cranmer, Fellow of Jesus College, in Cambridge, had obtained the favor of the king, in 1539, by advising a reference of the question of the legitimacy of his marriage with

* See Appendix. C.

Catharine to the several universities of Europe. He was at once engaged to write in defence of the divorce. The king conferred on him the See of Canterbury in May, 1533.

Cranmer, during his residence on the continent, had embraced the doctrines of the Protestant party, and became more closely connected with the Reformers by his marriage with the niece of Oslander, one of the German divines. He therefore petitioned the king to withdraw his nomination, stating, "that if he received the dignity, it must be from the Pope, which he neither would nor could do, as the king was the only governor of the Church in all causes, both temporal and spiritual." This difficulty, however was removed by the *finesse* of a casuist, who advised, "that previous to his taking the oath to the Pope, he should make a solemn protest that he did not consider himself thereby bound to do any thing contrary to the law of God, or his duty as a subject." The Pope, however, was apprised that Cranmer was obnoxious to the charge of heretical pravity: would he therefore bestow upon him the pall, and issue the customary bulls for his installation? Not disposed to widen still further the breach between himself and the king, he compromised with his conscience, as the archbishop elect had done, and they were forwarded to England. Cranmer, having made his protest in form in the presence of five witnesses, proceeded to St. Stephen's chapel, at Westminster, and was duly consecrated to the high office, conformable to the royal appointment.

The Archbishop of Canterbury,* immediately after his instal-

* In the primitive ages, succeeding the apostolic, the bishops were elected "*Per verum et populum*," or by the clergy and people, who constituted the Church. This form of election was continued for many centuries after. The sovereigns of Europe, in time, exercised the right of confirming these elections, and of granting investitures. This was in the eighth century conceded by Pope Adrian I. to Charlemagne. The laity were subsequently excluded, by the increasing power of the pontiff, from all participation in the elections: but the sovereigns, still retaining the right of confirming, virtually enjoyed that of nomination. Pope Gregory VII., however, in the eleventh century published a bull of excommunication against all princes who should dare to confer investitures, and all prelates who should venture to receive them. King John of England, in the thirteenth century, by a charter, gave up to the monasteries and cathedrals the free right of electing their prelates; reserving the mere form of granting a license to elect—as the electors were empowered to proceed without it, if refused. Archbishops, bishops, and abbots, were all embraced, under these various

lation,* proceeded by order of the king to decide upon the dity of the marriage with Catharine, and the question of divorce. The queen was summoned to appear in court, but refused, and was declared contumacious. The results of these deliberations were such as had been anticipated by all. The marriage was pronounced null and void, *ab initio*, and the king's recent marriage with Anne Boleyn was formally ratified. She was accordingly soon after publicly crowned queen with the customary solemnities of the occasion.

When these occurrences were communicated to the court of Rome, the conclave was thrown into a state of the deepest indignation. The pontiff was advised to proceed at once to the utmost extremities with the king, and to fulminate against him a bloody bull of excommunication. Clement, however, was aware of the dangers of precipitancy, and determined to reserve his sentence for a future contingency. Although he had, in consequence given to Cassali, one of the English agents, his private counsel that "Henry should first marry another wife, and then sue for divorce;" and at the same time, granted "to Wolsey, as legate in conjunction with the Archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English prelate, a *provisional dispensation* for the king's marriage with any other person, promising to issue a decretal bull nulling his marriage with Catherine;" he now declared that the sentence of the Archbishop's Court was null and void, dissolved his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and threatened an excommunication if he refused to yield obedience to these Papal mandates.

Francis was solicitous of compromising these differences when he had an interview with the Pope at Marseilles, in October, during the festivities of the marriage of his son, the Duke of Orleans (afterward Henry II.) with the famous Catharine de Medici, niece of Clement, he persuaded him to refer the matter to commissioners who should meet at Cambray. His reference was assented to by the pontiff, on condition that Henry would submit his cause to the Holy See. This the king promised to do, "provided the cardinals of the imperial faction were excluded from the consistory." But a providential occurrence

forms of election. So stood these ecclesiastical regulations before the start of Henry VIII.

* An archbishop is, however, said to be enthroned, not installed.

tained the messenger entrusted with this promise, and he did not arrive in Rome on the appointed day. In the mean time a report was circulated in the city, that the Papal Court had been libelled in England, and the Pope and cardinals exposed to ridicule in a theatrical exhibition. These circumstances determined the court, incensed on account of these indignities, to proceed forthwith to a reiteration of its former judgment, and to the publication of a solemn sentence of excommunication. Two days after the messenger arrived; but all hopes of a reconciliation were now utterly cut off.

Notwithstanding the evident decline of Popery in England, in the progress of these controversies, its ruling passion for persecuting and burning heretics was not abated. John Frith, an intimate friend of the celebrated Tyndal, who was then engaged in translating and printing the Scriptures at Antwerp, was arraigned before Stokesly, Bishop of London, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, for having denied the doctrine of transubstantiation and the existence of purgatory. He maintained his opinions with firmness before the Episcopal Court, and was condemned as a contumacious heretic. He was delivered over to the secular powers by the judge, who, at the same time "most earnestly required them, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment worthily to be done, may be so moderate that the rigor thereof be not extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the salvation of the soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of heretics, and to the unity of the Catholic faith." "The plain meaning of which hypocritical and blasphemous cant was," says the historian, "that he was to be roasted to death with all gentleness and moderation."

The year 1534 was memorable for the number and the importance of the Parliamentary enactments, bearing upon the rights of the clergy, the security of the Reformers, and the spiritual prerogatives of the crown. On the 15th of January, Parliament convened. "All payments made to the Apostolic Chamber, all provisions, bulls, dispensations, were abolished; monasteries were subjected to the visitation and government of the king alone; the law for punishing heretics* was moderated;" the

* A heretic is defined by the decretals to be: "*Qui dubitat de fide Catholica, et qui negligit servare ea, quæ Romana ecclesia statuit, seu servare decreverat;*"

ancient right of nominating to vacant sees was restored to the crown, by giving to the king a right to insert the name of the person whom he wished elected in the license, or letter missive, directed to the dean and chapter, and ordering them to proceed to an election, and if the election be delayed above twelve days the king may by letters patent appoint *whom he pleased*; and applications to Rome for palls, bulls, or provisions were prohibited. The law against *annats*, which was enacted in the year 1532, was new modelled with stronger restrictions against the rights of the clergy, and finally established. The convocations, which were the high ecclesiastical councils in the kingdom, were restrained by a statute, declaratory of the old common law, from making or putting in execution any canons repugnant to the king's prerogative, or the laws, customs, and statutes of the realm; and the king's royal assent was made necessary to the validity of every canon. No convocations could thereafter be assembled without an express authority from the king; and the power was conceded to him of appointing commissioners, to examine the old canons, and to abrogate such as were prejudicial to his royal prerogative. As the head of the Church, there was an ultimate appeal to him in Chancery from the sentence of every ecclesiastical judge.*

Parliament declared the marriage of the king with Catharine void from the beginning, unlawful and of no effect; it ratified the sentence of the Archbishop's Court which annulled that marriage contract; and the marriage with Queen Anne was established and confirmed.†

The convocations were made as submissive to the king's behests as the Parliament. They ordered that "the act against appeals to Rome, together with the king's appeal from the Pope

and by statute 2 Henry IV., "A teacher of erroneous opinions, contrary to the faith and blessed determinations of the Holy Church." The writ *de hæretico comburendo* is as ancient as the common law itself. The statute 25 Henry VIII., declares, that offences against the See of Rome are not heresy; and that process against a person accused can issue only on the presentment of two credible witnesses, or on an indictment previously found in the king's courts of common law. In 1539, by statute 31 Henry VIII., the bloody law of the six articles was made! The Reformation advanced or receded by the caprice of the king.

* Blackstone's Commentaries.

† Hume's History of England.

to a general council, should be affixed to the doors of all the churches in the kingdom ; and they advanced a step further, by solemnly declaring, that " the Bishop of Rome had, by the law of God, no more jurisdiction in England, than any other foreign bishop ; and that the authority which he and his predecessors had there exercised, was only by usurpation, and by the sufferance of English princes." Even this act of obsequiousness fell short of their new-born zeal in maintaining the recent assumptions, by a temporal prince, of the privileges and prerogatives of spiritual supremacy. " The bishops went so far," says Hume, " in their complaisance, that they took out *new commissions* from the crown, in which all their spiritual and episcopal authority was expressly affirmed to be derived ultimately from the civil magistrate, and to be entirely dependent on his good pleasure." By these acts the whole body of the English clergy declared that the spiritual authority which had been exercised by the pontiff, in all time past, within the kingdom of England, was a usurpation, and therefore neither of human nor divine right, and that the episcopal powers derived from them had been unlawfully conferred, and therefore voluntarily surrendered as void *ab initio*. By this act of excision, the bishops of the Church of England, from the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Henry VIII. severed themselves from the ancient Church ; and having broken the link which had united them to the line of bishops extending back through all intervening ages to the apostles themselves, they excluded themselves from the apostolic succession. The Church of England thereby lost its title by descent ; and became, like the other Reform Churches of the time, a newly organized ecclesiastical institution.

Parliament was again convoked, after a prorogation of a few months, and another statute was passed, which recited, " that the king's majesty justly and rightfully is, and ought to be, the supreme head of the Church of England ; and so had been recognized by the clergy of this kingdom in their convocation."

It further declared, that " the king shall be reputed the only supreme head, in earth, of the Church of England ; and shall have, annexed to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all jurisdictions, authorities, and commodities, to the said dignity of the supreme head of the Church

appertaining.”* (Statute 26 Henry VIII.) “In this manner,” says Hume, “the Parliament granted the king rather acknowledged his inherent power, ‘to visit and redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, or amend all abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, which fall under any spiritual authority, or jurisdiction.’” “In virtue of this authority,” says Blackstone, “the king convenes, presides, restrains, regulates, and dissolves all ecclesiastical synods and convocations.” This, that learned jurist and civilian affirms, is an inherent prerogative of the crown long before the reign of Henry VIII., as vouched by the highest authorities.

At the close of the year 1534, therefore, the Church of England, by successive Parliamentary enactments, may be said to have been permanently established by the laws of the country. In its organization, in its form and legislature, it was a human institution. In its rites and doctrines, themselves the product of human invention, it was still Popish. Nothing had yet been done to purify it of this foul contamination, these relics of barbarous and superstitious ages gone by. It had, it is true, rejected the Church of Rome; but it still clung to many of its deformities and abominations. In other words, it was still a spiritual corporation, avowedly distinct from all other corporations in the kingdom, in acknowledging, “as its only supreme head in earth, the temporal sovereign, “the catalogue of whose vices,” “would comprehend many of the worst qualities of human nature: violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, presumption, and avarice, which was the character of the *Pontifex Maximus*, whose high hand supplanted the Roman pontiff, now he transferred his sacerdotal office, dignity, and power, in the Church, and such was the Church, emphatically distinguished by its statutes—“*the Church as by law established*.” “In its existence as a Church,” says a modern writer, “the reign of Henry VIII., the interests of the guardians of the Church, and the political necessities of Elizabeth. Parliament can unmake it.” “By the constitution of England it is,” says Mr. Speaker Onslow, “

* Blackstone's Commentaries.

† With the exception of the short interval during t

legislative power of the Church is in King, Lords, and Commons in Parliament. And it is the same with regard to the king's *supremacy*, whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority is an essential part of our Church constitution, renewed and confirmed by Parliament, as the supreme legislature of the Church, which has the same extent of true power in the Church of England as any Church legislature ever had; and may therefore censure, excommunicate, deprive, degrade, &c., or may give authoritative directions to the officers of the Church to perform any of them;* and may also make laws and canons to bind the whole Church, as they shall judge proper, not repugnant to the laws of God or nature."

To trace this feature of the Church of England a little further, it was laid down by Lord Hardwicke, "That the constant uniform practice ever since the Reformation has been, that when any material ordinances or regulations have been made to bind the laity as well as clergy, in matters merely ecclesiastical, they have been either enacted or confirmed by Parliament. Of this proposition the several Acts of Uniformity are so many proofs; for by those the whole doctrine and worship, the very rites and ceremonies, and the literal form of public prayers, are prescribed and established; and it is plain, from the several preambles of these acts, that though the matters were first considered and approved in convocation,† yet the convocation was only looked upon as an assembly of learned men, able and proper to prepare

* By statute 25 Henry VIII, if the dean and chapter do not elect, as by law required, when ordered by a letter missive from the king, or, if the archbishop or bishop, as the case may be, refuse to confirm, invest, and consecrate the bishop so elected, they shall incur all the penalties of a *præmunire*. The bishop elect shall sue to the king for his temporalities, and shall make oath to the king and none other. (Blackstone's Com.) This statute was repealed by 1 Edward VI. c. 2.

† The convocation of Canterbury consists of two houses. Twenty-two bishops form the upper. Before the Reformation, abbots, priors, and other mitred prelates sat with them. The lower house consists of twenty-two deans, fifty-three archdeacons, twenty-four proctors for the chapters, and forty-four proctors for the parochial clergy. The convocation of York has but one house. The Archbishop of Canterbury is styled—*Metropolitanus et primus totius Angliæ*. The archbishops are entitled—Grace, and most reverend father in God by divine providence; the bishops—Lord, and most reverend father in God by divine permission.

and propound them, but not to enact and give them their force." (2 Atkyns, 650.)

Thus have we truly marked out the foundation of the national character of the Church of England, as established by the government in the sixteenth century. The supreme authority of the Church is not in a council of bishops; "They may," says Lord Hardwicke, "prepare and propound, but not enact and give the force of law." The government of the Church therefore is not, strictly speaking, *Episcopal*. The bishops themselves received their commissions from the civil magistrate in the year 1534; and from this period commenced a new line of succession. Here was, perhaps, the only prominent feature which, at that time, distinguished the ancient Romish Church from the newly-created politico-ecclesiastical hierarchy of England. In one, the Pope was the head and fountain of all spiritual honors, dignities, privileges, and prerogatives; in the other, the king. The Pope was supreme, by virtue of his spiritual character; the king, as a *persona mixta*, to whom belonged the ecclesiastical, by reason of his political character. The Papal ecclesiastics contended that Henry had usurped the authority of his Holiness; the English ecclesiastics, with new commissions from the throne, insisted that this authority appertained, of right, to the king; and had been exercised in England by the pontiffs by the sufferance of English princes. How far the mere transfer of this spiritual power may be considered a reformation in religion, would be differently determined by the respective parties.

A spirit of intolerance among the secret abettors of Popery was still prevalent; and it was evident that the fear of offending the king, who was capricious as well as overbearing and tyrannical, suppressed the disposition to persecute the Dissenters from the Romish Church. The influence of Cromwell, who favored the doctrines of the Reformation, and of Archbishop Cranmer, who had imbibed the sentiments of Luther, (both of them enjoying at the time, the confidence and favor of Henry,) restrained the Popish party from measures of violence. The Duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, adhered to the interests of the pontiff. Although the councils of the king were composed of discordant materials, each party consulted safety by harmonizing with him in all his opinions and measures. This circumstance, however, was favorable to the Reformers. The transla-

tion of the Scriptures, by Tyndal, was introduced into England, and made many converts to the new faith. Tonsal, Bishop of London, and afterward of Durham, purchased the copies, with a view of checking the farther progress of heretical opinions, and thus, unconsciously, aided in their more general dissemination.

Henry was still attached to the tenets of the ancient religion; and when his humor countenanced the prosecution and punishment of those who opposed them, the flames were immediately rekindled for the burning of heretics. In this year occasional victims were sacrificed at the stake. "Many," says Hume, "were brought into the bishop's courts, for offences which appear trivial, but which were regarded as symbols of the party: some for teaching their children the Lord's Prayer in English; others for reading the New Testament in that language, or for speaking against pilgrimages." Thomas Bilney, who preached against idolatry, and trusting for salvation either to pilgrimages, or to the cowl of St. Francis, was apprehended and burned. Another denied the real presence, and shared the same fate. Another, charged with maintaining the new doctrines, was committed to the Tower, tortured, and at length burned in Smithfield. Such were the fruits of this recent reformation introduced into the kingdom.

The convocation, it is true, had sustained the king in his assumption of a spiritual supremacy over the Church; and the bishops had laid aside their ancient vestments, and submissively accepted from the crown his gracious appointments under the new commissions; but a reformation in rites, doctrines, and forms of worship, was the object of neither party. A compliant Parliament had concentrated in the king all powers, temporal and spiritual. The convocation had, but a short time before, averted his anger, and escaped the penalties of a *præmunire*, by a grant of one hundred thousand pounds, and the acknowledgment of his supremacy, (declared by a statute of the realm,) which they attempted to evade, in 1531, by a supplemental clause, surreptitiously annexed, was an act of unwilling obedience to an authority which never argued the question of right.*

* The king, being informed, during the sitting of Parliament, that there was strong opposition to granting the supplies he had required, sent for Edward Montague, an influential member of the House. "Ho! man!" he exclaimed,

The bishops made great sacrifices and concessions, but they yielded to the pressure of circumstances. They were the merest instruments in the hands of the sovereign : and co-operated in the accomplishment of his purposes, against their ancient prejudices, and in violation of their fealty to the Roman pontiff. But if they renounced their allegiance to Rome, and disclaimed their vows of ordination, they adhered to the tenets of their religion and were still Papists in principle, and opposed to any further innovations in the Church.

About this time appeared a deluded fanatic, and a dupe of the Papal party, known as the Maid of Kent. She was persuaded to feign visions ; and among them was that of an angel, who directed her to go to the king, and order him "to leave his right to the Pope, to destroy those of the new opinion, and to keep his lawful wife." Two agents of the Pope countenanced her ; and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, encouraged the deception. The whole plot was artfully devised, and the popular credulity imposed on. It was soon detected, however, and the principal abettors were executed at Tyburn. Rochester, and others, were convicted of misprision of treason. The monks, who were most deeply implicated in this Popish conspiracy, were punished by the suppression of three of their monasteries : and this was the commencement of severer visitations.

Stronger entrenchments were now thrown around the sacred character of the king, by the constructions given to the statutes in relation to his spiritual supremacy. A denial of this attribute was held to be treason ; and many ecclesiastics were capitally punished for this offence. In the year 1535, the Bishop of Rochester was indicted for this constructive treason, and beheaded. The celebrated Sir Thomas More was soon after arraigned upon a suspicion only of denying the king's supremacy ; and upon his refusal to give a direct reply to the questions proposed to him his guilt was determined on, and he was accordingly executed. There was indeed a general dissatisfaction among the clergy on account of the king's assumption of spiritual supremacy ; and

as Montague was introduced to him. " will they not suffer my bill to pass and laying his hand on the commoner's head, he said, " Get my bill passed to-morrow, or else to-morrow this head of yours shall be off." Next day the supplies were voted by the Parliament. (Hume.)

symptoms even of resistance manifested themselves in the city of London, and elsewhere. Many monks and priors were involved in this conspiracy, and some of them were executed at Tyburn. At the same time fourteen Dutch Reformers, who had taken refuge in England, were burned as Anabaptists. Thus was the throne of the new Anglican pontiff protected by a two-edged sword, which cut on either side, and slew alike the Papist and the Reformer. Thus says Hume: "While Henry was exerting his violence against the Protestants, he spared not the Catholics, who denied his supremacy; and a foreigner at that time in England had reason to say, that 'those who were against the Pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged.' The king even displayed in an ostentatious manner this tyrannical impartiality, which reduced both parties to subjection, and infused terror into every breast."*

Clement VII. died in September, 1534, and was succeeded by Paul III., of the illustrious House of Farnese. Paul, while cardinal, had favored the views of the King of England; and the latter manifested a desire to effect terms of reconciliation with the See of Rome. The elevation of this pontiff appeared propitious to the restoration of harmony between the parties. The execution of Fisher, who had been honored with a cardinal's hat, excited the indignation of Paul; and the flattering prospects of peace were again overshadowed by clouds which threatened a still more violent explosion of the elements. Henry and his adherents were cited to appear at Rome within ninety days, to answer before the Papal court for the severe measures he had pursued toward this high prelate of the Church; and were warned, if the summons were disobeyed, "they would be excommunicated; the king would be deprived of his crown, and the kingdom laid under an interdict; that the issue of Anne Boleyn would be declared illegitimate; that all leagues between Henry and the Catholic princes would be annulled; and that his kingdom should be given up to an invader." The pontiff further threatened to enforce this sentence, "by commanding the nobility to take up arms against his authority, releasing his subjects from their alle-

* "The king once said publicly, before his council, that if any one spoke of him or his actions in terms which became them not, he would let them know that he was master."

giance to him, cutting off their commerce with foreign States, and making it lawful for any one to seize them, to *make slaves* of their persons, and to convert their effects to his own use." This was the Papal tone of the thirteenth century; and although the thunders of the Vatican were now little feared by the sovereigns of Europe, and less regarded by Henry, this presumptuous act of the pontiff evinced to the world (and should be a warning to all Protestant nations through all time) that the spirit of Popery, with its ancient malignity and venom unabated, may be subdued and overcome, but can never be conquered and destroyed. It was this spirit which actuated Paul IV., on the accession of Elizabeth to the English throne, in 1558, "to claim that kingdom as a fief of the Holy See; to declare it an act of presumption in her to assume the title and authority of queen; and to pronounce her right to the succession excluded by the illegitimacy of her birth."

Paul, although determined to make the most desperate efforts to reduce to obedience the proud and tyrannical monarch, and to restore that kingdom to the See of Rome, was circumspect in the adoption of decided measures, and delayed the publication of his bull, until milder means of reconciliation utterly failed, or the Emperor Charles, who was engaged in an expedition against Scherredin, grand-admiral of the Ottoman fleet, could assist him with his forces in compelling Henry to submit to his authority. It was under these circumstances, pending the issue of the emperor's victorious career against the Turks, that Henry and Francis drew more closely their alliance for mutual defence, and severally made overtures to the Protestant princes of Germany to unite with them in conducting the war against the emperor and the pontiff. "Though both Francis and Henry," says Hume, "flattered the German princes with hopes of their embracing the Confession of Augsburg, it was looked upon as a bad symptom of their sincerity that they exercised such extreme rigor against all preachers of the Reformation, in their respective dominions."* Henry carried his duplicity even to the extreme of inviting to England Melancthon, Bucer, and other eminent divines of the Lutheran Church. Francis also invited Melancthon to Paris,

* The King of France, proud of the title of *Most Christian Majesty*, was then in alliance with Sultan Solymán I. against a monarch who was the firmest defender of the Roman Church, and of which he was himself a servile instrument.

professing his wish that a pacific conference would be held between that Reformer and the doctors of the Sorbonne.

In the following year the emperor invaded Provence, and besieged Marseilles; and with another army he entered Picardy, and laid siege to Peronne, on the Somme. But Francis succeeded in expelling his forces out of France. This repulse of the imperial armies disappointed the expectations of the Pope, who had flattered himself that the success of Charles would alarm the King of England, and induce him to a compromise more favorable to the pretensions of his Holiness. The former relative condition of the several parties was thus reinstated; and Henry, again untrammelled by foreign influences, directed his attention to the internal affairs of his kingdom, and exercised with increased severity the powers vested in him as the supreme head of the Anglican Church.

The monastic orders had become peculiarly odious, from their efforts to excite against him the popular indignation. The acts of Parliament had placed them under his control; and they could no longer obtain protection from the Papal bulls. The vice and profligacy which universally prevailed in the monasteries demanded correction; and their accumulated wealth invited the avarice and cupidity of the king. They were, therefore, the early objects of his spiritual visitation.

One of his first measures was to appoint his secretary, Cromwell, his vicar-general, or vicegerent. By this commission the king's supremacy was delegated to this favored counsellor. He was empowered to appoint others subordinate to himself in the exercise of this high trust, and to institute a court of ordinary for the probate of wills in which the property bequeathed exceeded in value the sum of two hundred pounds. "As the vicegerent of the king in ecclesiastical matters, he had the precedence of all persons except the royal family; and his authority was in all points the same as had been exercised formerly by the Pope's legates." (Fox's Mart.)

Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, with the king's license, made a visitation of all the churches within his metropolitan see, and not only erased the name of the Pope from the offices of the Church, but required all the ecclesiastics to acknowledge the supremacy of the king. The visitations of the monasteries, under the authority of the vicar-general, revealed to the public

the depth of depravity and vice into which those *religious* establishments had fallen. "Monstrous disorders," says Hume, "are said to have been found in them; whole convents of women abandoned to lewdness, signs of abortion procured, of infants murdered, of unnatural lusts between persons of the same sex." "The most horrible and disgusting crimes," says Fox, in his *Martyrology*, "were found to be practised in many of the houses, and vice and cruelty were more frequently the inmates of these pretended *sanctuaries* than religion and piety. The report of the visitors contained many abominable things, not fit to be mentioned."

In February, 1536, Parliament convened. The lesser monasteries, or those whose revenues were less than two hundred pounds a-year, were first suppressed on account of their greater immoralities. This was, however, designed by the king as a preparatory step to other and severer visitations. "By this act, three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a-year, were granted to the king; besides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more."*

By this Parliament—27 Henry VIII.—that celebrated statute, "for transferring uses into possession," commonly called "*the Statute of Uses*," was passed; the object of which was to prevent those secret and fraudulent transfers occasioned by the separation of the real from the apparent ownership, or, annexing to the *use* the real right of possession. By this statute it was declared that the *use* of the land should determine in whom was the right possession; or, in other words, that the *cestuy que use* shall be considered the real owner of the estate. This intricate tenure was introduced into the kingdom of England in the fourteenth century, by ecclesiastics learned in the civil law, to evade the statutes of mortmain, which prohibited any one from aliening his land to a religious house, and taking it back again to hold as tenant to the monastery. "In deducing," says Blackstone, "the history of those statutes, it will be matter of curiosity to observe the great address and subtle contrivance of the ecclesi-

* "The first house surrendered to the king was Langden, in Kent; the abbot of which was found in bed with a woman, who went in the habit of a lay brother. (Fox's Mart.)

astics, in eluding from time to time the laws in being, and the zeal with which successive Parliaments have pursued them through all their finesses : how new remedies were still the parents of new evasions ; till the legislature at last, though with difficulty, obtained a decided victory." Hence arose the distinction in law between an equitable and a legal right. But this subject has but an indirect connection with the history of the Reformation.

The convocation convened during the session of Parliament discussed the question of publishing a new translation of the Bible. That by Tyndal had been extensively distributed, but was believed by the clergy generally to be inaccurate. On the abstract question there was much difference of opinion ; the friends of the Reformation maintaining that the word of God should be accessible by all, and that each one should have the means of drawing from that source a knowledge of the doctrines of Christ, and of the plan of salvation. The Popish divines, on the other hand, insisted upon the dangers of placing in the hands of the people a translation of the sacred Scriptures, as, from their ignorance, they would be more certainly led into error and a perversion of those sacred truths, than when instructed by ecclesiastics assisted by education, and conversant with the intricate questions in theology. Cranmer, Latimer, and some of the bishops who were supposed to have expressed the wishes of the king, having defended the proposal to prepare a new translation, succeeded in carrying that measure, against an apparent majority in the convocation. The work was accordingly undertaken, and was printed in Paris in the year 1538, and in the following year in London,

The king may have been influenced by Anne Boleyn, who favored the Reform doctrines, and therefore seemed at times to display a feeling of toleration towards the Protestants. But a sad reverse now awaited the queen. That capricious and tyrannical monarch, having transferred his affections to Jane Seymour, one of the maids of honor at the court, determined to remove the obstacle to the gratification of his passion by the execution of Anne. Under a charge of infidelity to her marriage vows, an indictment was found against her by the grand jury at Westminster. She was accused, but without any evidence to sustain the allegations, of having had an incestuous

intercourse with her brother, Lord Rocheford. Three gentlemen of the privy chamber, and a groom of the chamber, were included in the bill of indictment, under the charge also of adulterous intercourse with the queen. They were severally convicted. On the 17th of May, Rocheford and the others were led to execution; and on the 19th, Anne Boleyn was beheaded within the tower. The king married Jane Seymour on the following day.

Parliament was convened soon after, and all the recent acts of the king were ratified. The royal authority was still further extended, by investing in him and his successors the power "to annul, by letters patent, whatever act of Parliament had been passed before he was four and twenty years of age." "Whoever maintained the authority of the Bishop of Rome, by word or writ, or endeavored, in any manner, to restore it in England, was subjected to the penalty of a *præmunire*; and any person who possessed any office, ecclesiastical or civil, or received any grant or charter from the crown, and yet refused to renounce the Pope, by oath, was declared to be guilty of treason. The renunciation prescribed runs in the style of—"So help me God, all Saints, and the Holy Evangelists." The Pope had made another effort to effect a reconciliation with Henry, and to reinstate England in its ancient relations with the Church; but his several advances only urged the king to adopt still more stringent measures in maintaining his supremacy. This contest was not unlike those long and severe struggles which occurred in an early age of the Church between the Pontiffs of Rome and the Patriarchs of Constantinople.

Even the stern temper of Henry yielded in some degree to the great moral influences which were revolutionizing the religious opinions of Europe. The Holy Scriptures were circulated in England in the vernacular tongue; men distinguished for learning and theological researches contributed by their writings to the diffusion of light; and public discussions on controverted doctrines in religion created a general interest, and an anxious inquiry after the truths of the Gospel.

The proceedings of the convocation assembled during the sitting of Parliament point out a new epoch in the history of the Reformation in England. Hitherto the Anglican Church had differed from that of Rome in one feature only. Indeed it could

have been considered but as a branch of the Popish Church, in a state of rebellion against that ancient authority to which it had always obsequiously submitted.* Its ritual and its doctrines were the same which from time immemorial it had received (and reverently cherished) from the hands of the *Mother Church* of Rome. It was to preserve these that martyrs in different ages—from the reign of Henry II. to the days of Wickliffe, and subsequently—have been immolated at the stake, and that successive and severe enactments were made for the punishment of the Lollards.† The high-handed measures of the pontiffs, by which they exhausted the nation of its treasures, were early opposed by Parliamentary provisions. Henry VIII., in reviving the Statute of Provisors, did not advance a step in promoting the true spirit of the Reformation beyond his predecessor, Richard II., in whose reign the statute was passed, and Wickliffe was persecuted. The religious Reformation for which the Protestants were contending was not that reformation for which the Church of England was “*by law established*,” and for which the Parliament declared the king to be the protector and the supreme head of the Church and clergy of England, which the bishops admitted—“in so far as is permitted by the law of Christ.”

“Cromwell was sent to the convocation,” says Fox, in his *Martyrology*, “with a message from his majesty, that they should reform the rites and ceremonies of the Church according to the rules set down in Scripture, which ought to be preferred to all glosses or decrees of Popes.” This was the initiatory measure which eventually led to a happy reformation of the Church of England. The convocation, thus instructed by the supreme head of the Church, proceeded to the discussion of several doctrinal questions. Cranmer, Goodrick, Shaxton, Latimer, Fox, Hilsey, and Barlow, maintained the principles of the Protestant party; they were warmly opposed by the Archbishop of York, Stokesly, Tonstall, Gardiner, Longland, and several others. “The Church, in general,” says Hume, “was averse to

* Hallam, in tracing the progress of ecclesiastical power in the middle ages, has remarked, that “England has been obsequious, beyond most other countries, to the arrogance of her hierarchy, especially during the Anglo-Saxon period.”

† By statute 2 Henry IV., the bishop alone could convict of heresy, and require the sheriff to commit the convict to the flames. See also 2 Henry V., &c.

the Reformation. The lower house of convocation* framed a list of opinions, in the whole sixty-seven, which they pronounced erroneous; and which was a collection of principles, some held by the ancient Lollards, others by the modern Protestants, or Gospellers, as they were sometimes called. These opinions they sent to the upper house, to be censured; but in the preamble of their representation they discovered the servile spirit by which they were governed. They said, "they intended not to do or speak anything which might be unpleasant to the king, whom they acknowledge their supreme head, and whose commands they were resolved to obey; renouncing the Pope's usurped authority, with all his laws and inventions, now extinguished and abolished; and addicting themselves to Almighty God and his laws, and unto the king, and the laws made within this kingdom."

"The contest," says Fox, "would have been much sharper, had not the king sent some articles to be considered of by them." The royal suggestion dictated their course, and the following tenets were adopted as consonant to his views at the time, and are evidently founded on a basis of compromise—each party yielding opinions to obtain a sanction of others from their opponents. The Protestants, therefore, assented to auricular confession, penance, the real presence in the eucharist, the use of images as warranted by Scripture, the expediency of praying to saints, the former rites of worship, the use of holy water, and the ceremonies practised on Ash-Wednesday, Palm-Sunday, Good-Friday, and other festivals. On the other hand, the Popish party admitted as their standard of faith, the Scriptures, the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian creeds. "This," says Hume, "was a signal victory to the Reformers." "No mention was made of marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as sacraments; and in this omission the Protestants prevailed. The terms of acceptance were established to be the merits of Christ, and the mercy and good pleasure of God, suitably to the new principles. The people were warned against idolatry and the abuse of images. The peculiar patronage of saints to any trade, profession, or course of action, was rejected.

* The upper house consisted of the suffragan bishops; the lower, of deans, archdeacons, and representatives of the inferior clergy.

The Papists further admitted, that the ancient rites of worship—the holy water, the ceremonies practised on particular days, and the festivals generally—had no immediate power of remitting sin, and that their sole merit consisted in promoting pious and devout dispositions in the mind.” On the subjects of purgatory, and prayers for souls departed, the convocation expressed its opinions with much precaution and tenderness. The articles were submitted to the king, and, having received his approval, were signed by every member of the Assembly.*

Here, then, we have the outlines of the Church of England faithfully drawn, as it was new-modelled in June of the year 1536.

Although the parties seemed united on middle ground, it was evident that the concessions thus mutually made were dictated by apprehensions, on either side, of incurring the displeasure of the king. The Papists were evidently the stronger party in the kingdom, and had yielded by compulsion. “The Ten Articles of Faith” were acceptable to neither. It could scarcely have been expected that the adherents to Popery, conscious of their numerical strength, would be long passive under this innovation in their ancient religion. The monks, driven out of the lesser monasteries, wandered about the country, and were active in exciting the public discontent. Those residing in the greater monasteries anticipated a similar visitation. Cromwell, who was disposed to urge on the Reformation, exercised the powers of his office with little regard to consequences. Without the consent, either of the Parliament or the convocation, he published an ordinance in the king’s name, by which he lessened the number of the holy days, prohibited pilgrimages, the worship of images, and the use of relics, and compelled the priests in the parishes to appropriate a large portion of their income to the repairs of churches and the support of the poor.

From the several and multiplied causes of popular dissatisfaction, an insurrection, under the guidance of a priest disguised as a cobbler, commenced in Lincolnshire, and was soon after followed by another, more extensive and more alarming, in the counties of York, Durham, and Lancaster. The former was easily sup-

* The clergy, by an act of submission, bound themselves to enact no canons without the king’s consent.

pressed, but the insurgents of the North were more numerous and warlike, and were commanded by a more able leader. They were impelled, too, by a stronger feeling of religious enthusiasm. Their march to meet the forces of the king they termed "the Pilgrimage of Grace." On their banners, and on their sleeves, were represented the five wounds of Christ. Priests marched in advance of their armies, in the habits of their orders, and with crosses in their hands. They swore to restore the Church—suppress heresies—preserve the king and his issue—purify the nobility, and drive evil-designing and base-born persons from the court. They were, however, overcome by the king's forces and dispersed. Many of the ringleaders were seized and executed; and, the rebellion having been quelled, a proclamation of general pardon was signed by the king in the month of July, 1537. On the 12th of October following the anxious wishes of the king were crowned by the birth of a son, who succeeded to the throne as Edward VI. in the year 1547.

The king's attention being now directed to the internal affairs of the nation, and his fondness for theological controversies inviting him to the subject of religion, the convocation was again required, about the close of this year, to prepare a system of doctrines as a Confession of Faith for the Anglican Church. A committee of that body was accordingly appointed, who compiled a volume, which was entitled, "The Godly and Pious Institute of a Christian Man." It was also called "The Bishop's Book."* This, having received the assent of the king, was published as the standard of orthodoxy for the English nation. The first part of this *formula* contains an exposition of the Apostles' Creed; the second, an exposition or declaration of the Seven Sacraments, viz: matrimony, baptism, confirmation, penance, holy eucharist, orders, and extreme unction; the third, an exposition of the Ten Commandments; and the fourth, an exposition of the Pater Noster and the Ave, with the articles of Justification and Purgatory.

This "*Liber Symbolicus Ecclesiæ Anglicæ*," like the system of

* "In this celebrated work, approved expressly by Archbishop Cranmer, Bishops Jewell, Willet, and Stillingfleet, and the main body of the English clergy, together with the king and Parliament, is this declaration—In the New Testament there is no mention of any other degrees but of deacons or ministers, and of presbyters or bishops." (Dwight's Theol. Serm. 151.)

reform adopted by the convocation the preceding year, embraced the doctrines of both parties. Its definitions of justification, free will, faith, good works, and grace, accorded, for the most part, with the views of the Protestants; but in the doctrine of the sacraments, the tenets of the Romish Church were the standards of faith. In the former, matrimony, confirmation, extreme unction, and holy orders, were omitted; in the latter the number was increased to seven, in conformity with the ritual of the Popish Church. Thus the supreme head of the Church still preserved a balance. Regardless himself of all standards of orthodoxy, he prescribed such doctrines and rites as his humor might suggest, or his graver views of policy dictate.

In the year 1538, Henry made another effort to form an alliance with the German Protestants; and for that purpose sent an ambassador to attend a congress of Protestant princes at Brunswick. It was found impossible, however, to reconcile their discordant opinions; and divines were sent from Germany to confer with the king personally. This conference terminated as was expected. They endeavored to convince him of his error, in administering the Lord's Supper in one kind only, in permitting private masses, and in forbidding the clergy to marry. Henry was not disposed to yield the ground without argument, and maintained his faith by an array of theological learning, and with a skill in syllogistic reasoning, which were at least satisfactory to himself. The parties were convinced by this discussion that the English and German systems of reform were nearly as antipodal as Popery and Protestantism.

The king, more impelled by avarice than a spirit of religious reform, determined to complete the destruction of the monasteries,* and to obliterate these vestiges of a rude and superstitious age. The abbots and monks had not been idle spectators of the insurrectionary movements in the northern counties, and many of them were deeply implicated in the rebellion. Their well-known attachment to the See of Rome, and unconcealed opposition to the assumption by Henry of the spiritual supremacy of the Church, marked them out as proper objects of a strict visitation and

* A Puseyite writer of our own country (Rev. W. I. Kip) reverts to the destruction of those nurseries of vice in strains of heart-rending sorrow.

of exemplary punishment. Circumstances seemed favorable to the accomplishment of the king's designs. In less than two years all the religious houses in the kingdom were entirely suppressed, and their wealth became vested in the crown. The visitors, with the view of better reconciling the people to an act which was deemed sacrilegious, exposed the vices and the frauds which had been practised by these institutions. The parings of St. Edmund's toes—the coals with which St. Laurence was roasted—the blood of Christ in a vial, invisible by those in mortal sin*—the wing of an angel, who brought into England the point of the spear that pierced our Saviour's side—the girdle of the Virgin: of which eleven were exhibited—three heads of St. Ursula—the felt of St. Thomas, an infallible cure for the headache—part of a shirt of St. Thomas of Canterbury, revered by pregnant women—as many pieces of the cross on which Christ was crucified as would have made a dozen crosses—a miraculous crucifix, called the "*Rood of Grace*," whose head, lips, and eyes, by the secret springs attached to them, were moved when its votaries approached it—a finger of St. Andrew, preserved in a plate of silver—and innumerable relics, for curing diseases, averting misfortunes, and obtaining the pardon of sins—were all exhibited to the public, and the wicked impostures detected and exposed.

The shrine of Thomas à Becket, or St. Thomas of Canterbury, had become the principal object of worship; and its emoluments far exceeded those of any other. In one year, when not a penny had been offered at God's altar, and about four pounds at that of the Virgin, not less than nine hundred and fifty-four pounds were bestowed, by pious pilgrims and devout worshippers, on that of St. Thomas. The shrine was demolished by order of the king, and its immense wealth transferred to the public treasury. St. Thomas was formally arraigned before a court, and condemned as a traitor. His bones were burnt, and his name was stricken out of the calendar of saints.

* The monks had so contrived that one side of the vial was opaque. This side was presented to the deluded pilgrim when he approached the holy shrine. This was an evidence that he was in mortal sin. He must therefore expiate by masses and offerings. When the priests had wrung out of him all that he had, the vial was turned, and the blood became visible. It was discovered to be the blood of a duck, which was occasionally renewed.

"The entire revenue of these religious houses amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds. Six hundred and forty-five monasteries were suppressed. Ninety colleges were demolished, in several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels; a hundred and ten hospitals." Such were the monuments of the vices and superstition of the Romish Church in the sixteenth century. Had the king inflicted as fatal a blow on the principles of its religion,—on its rites and doctrines—he would have accomplished more, in the cause of religious liberty and spiritual truth, than all the Reformers of Germany and Switzerland effected by their united efforts.

The Pontiff of Rome, who still claimed England as a fief of the Holy See, and still asserted his rightful supremacy over the Church of England as a branch of the Papal Hierarchy, was moved by the highest feelings of indignation, when informed of the measures pursued by Henry. On the 15th of December, 1538, he fulminated from the Vatican those terrific denunciations and anathemas, (with those thrilling and expressive terms in which that court was so conversant,) long suspended over the head of the English monarch. "He absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and his allies from their treaties with him; and exhorted all Christians to make war against and extirpate him from the face of the earth." Not satisfied with overwhelming him with his temporal maledictions, he drew from his spiritual stores the fiercest lightning of his wrath, and delivered over the soul of his audacious enemy to the powers of Satan and the torments of hell.

The days of the Gregories and of the Innocents had passed. If the lightning flashed with its wonted vividness and fiery darts, and the thunders were heard to resound over Europe in deafening peals as in the dark and benighted ages of the world, they were no longer seen and heard with superstitious fear. Henry was himself a pontiff, supreme in all spiritual matters within his own dominions; and he wielded the temporal powers within the State to maintain his ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction.

In the year 1526, an English translation of the New Testament was published at Antwerp by William Tyndal. This edition was bought up by Tonstal and Sir Thomas More, to prevent the circulation of the Scriptures among the people. Their object

was defeated by the means which they adopted, as Tyndal was enabled to present to the public a more improved edition in 1530. In this, he reflected with severity on the order of bishops and on the Popish clergy; and the work was purchased and destroyed. In 1532, with the assistance of others, he published the Old and New Testaments; but he was not long after arrested under a charge of heresy, and by an order from the Emperor Charles was burnt in Flanders.

In 1535, a correct edition of the Bible, or Tyndal's version revised, was published by Miles Coverdale, afterward Bishop of Exeter, and dedicated to Henry VIII. At the convocation in 1536, it was determined by that body that an improved English version of the Bible should be prepared, and published by authority. This measure was adopted in obedience to an order from the king; although, it was supposed, a majority of the council were opposed to it.

John Rogers, (superintendent of an English church in Germany, and the first martyr in the reign of Queen Mary,) with the assistance of Coverdale, revised, in 1537, the translation of Tyndal; comparing it with the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German, and adding the prefaces and notes from Luther's Bible. This work he dedicated to the king under the assumed name of Thomas Matthews. It was printed at Hamburg, and a license obtained for publishing it in England, by the favor of Archbishop Cranmer, Latimer, and Shaxton.

In 1538 Grafton and Whitchurch had obtained permission from the king to print the Bible in Paris; but when the work was nearly completed, by an order of the Inquisition, the printers were prohibited from proceeding, and the whole impression of two thousand five hundred copies was seized and confiscated. The press and types were recovered, however, through the interference of Cromwell; and the work was resumed and completed in London in the following year. This was known as Cranmer's Bible, from his having written the preface. Such is the succinct account of the several publications of the Bible—distinguished as Tyndal's, Coverdale's, Matthews', and Cranmer's.*

* Calmet's Dict. Hol. Bib.

NOTE.—The oldest French Bible is the version of Peter Devaux, or Peter Waldo, the chief of the Waldenses in France, 1160.

Throughout the controversy between the pontiff and the king, "the court of Rome," says Hume, "was not without solicitude; and entertained just apprehensions of losing entirely its authority in England, the kingdom which, of all others, had long been the most devoted to the Holy See, and which had yielded it the most ample revenue." The powers exercised by the king in ecclesiastical matters, were viewed by the pontiff as appertaining to his own spiritual sovereignty, and the exercise of them, as a daring invasion of the Papal authority. The characters of these two spiritual sovereigns were similar in many points of view. They were equally jealous of their prerogatives; and both of them, cruel and intolerant bigots in the tenets of their religion. The extermination of heresy was the paramount object of each. And it is worthy of observation, that while the king was under a sentence of excommunication by a Papal bull, as a recusant, and obstinate heretic, he was pursuing heretical pravity within his own kingdom, with remorseless cruelty, and with a vindictiveness unworthy of a sovereign.

John Lambert, with more zeal than discretion, drew up, at this time, a series of arguments, in refutation of the doctrine of the real presence, and in answer to a sermon preached by Dr. Taylor in defence of that tenet of the Church. He delivered this paper to Taylor, who delivered it to Dr. Barnes, a Lutheran divine. Barnes was himself obnoxious to the charge of heresy, for rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation. But he believed that the real body and blood of Christ were mysteriously present in the eucharist; and therefore condemned Lambert's opinions as heterodoxical and false. Having communicated to the archbishop the sentiments of Lambert, that prelate was compelled to take cognizance of the offence. The indiscreet controversialist appealed to the king. Henry seized with avidity the opportunity of displaying his theological learning, and accordingly summoned to his court the nobility and bishops, that they might witness his polemical skill, and assist with their counsels in the suppression of heresy.

Lambert appeared before the king, in Westminster Hall. The prelates, the temporal peers, the judges, and the most eminent lawyers, were assembled to witness the triumph of the royal theologian. The Bishop of Chichester was instructed to assure the accused, that, although his majesty had thrown off the usur-

pation of the See of Rome, and had done many things by virtue of his supremacy; "yet was he determined to maintain the purity of the Catholic faith, and to punish, with the utmost severity, all departure from it." The king having urged many arguments, drawn from Scripture and the schoolmen, the prelates in succession sustained his views; and the discussion, if the proceedings are worthy of that title, was continued, until Lambert, overawed by the august assembly before which he was arraigned, and overwhelmed by false charges and accusations which he was not permitted to reply to, was driven to a profound silence, and a passive submission to his fate. "Wilt thou live or die?" said the king; "thou hast yet free choice." "I yield and submit myself wholly unto the will of your majesty," replied Lambert." "Then," rejoined the king, "commit thyself unto the hands of God, and not unto mine: you must die, for I will not be a patron unto heretics." Lambert was delivered over to the executioner, and was consumed by a slow fire—his tortures having been prolonged that his sufferings might be more aggravated.

The king, in the precipitate condemnation of Lambert, disregarded that statute, passed in the 25th year of his reign, which restrained proceedings in cases of heresy, by declaring that legal process must be founded on the evidence of two credible witnesses, and that trials for heresy must also be under an indictment previously found in the courts of common law. But in defiance of law, and of the principles of justice, the king exhibited his arbitrary and capricious temper by the execution of four Dutch Anabaptists—three men and a woman; fagots were tied to their backs, at Paul's Cross, and they were burned in that manner. The flame of persecution was now rekindled; and the Defender of the Faith, as it is in Rome, and the supreme head of the Church in England, seemed determined to arrest the further progress of the Reformation, and to restore to the Anglican Church its former similitude, in rites and doctrines, to the Papal Church.

In April, 1539, Parliament convened. The king communicated his wish, "to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinion, in matters of religion," and instructed them to appoint a committee, from among themselves, "who might draw up certain articles of faith," and present them to the Parliament for their

deliberation. The diversity of opinions among the bishops who composed the committee defeated the object of their appointment. The Duke of Norfolk, who zealously adhered to the Popish doctrines, proposed that the Confession of Faith be embraced in six articles, and that another committee be appointed to prepare a bill to that effect. "As this peer," says Hume, "was understood to speak the sense of the king, his motion was immediately complied with." From the well-known sentiments of that monarch, such persons were doubtless appointed who would frame a bill in accordance with his opinions. Under these circumstances the bloody law of the six articles was enacted, "which," says Blackstone, "established the six most contested points of Popery, transubstantiation, communion in one kind, the celibacy of the clergy, monastic vows, the sacrifice of the mass, and auricular confession; which points were (in the phraseology of the bill) 'determined and resolved by the most godly study, pain, and travail of his majesty: for which his most humble and obedient subjects, the Lords *spiritual* and temporal, and the Commons, in Parliament assembled, did not only render and give unto his highness their most high and hearty thanks,' but did also enact and declare all oppugners of the first to be heretics, and to be burnt with fire; and of the five last to be felons, and to suffer death." "The same statute," continues Blackstone, "established a new and mixed jurisdiction of clergy and laity for the trial and conviction of heretics; the reigning prince being then equally intent on destroying the supremacy of the Bishops of Rome, and establishing all other their corruptions of the Christian religion."

The Church of England was again essentially Popish in all its rites and doctrines; the supremacy of the king, and not of the pontiff, being its only distinguishing feature. The article enforcing the celibacy of the clergy operated with a peculiar severity, by its dissolution of the social relations founded on the matrimonial union. The Archbishop of Canterbury was compelled to withdraw from his marriage contract, and to dismiss his wife. Bishops Latimer and Shaxton resigned their bishoprics, and were imprisoned for contumacy. Thus did Henry, by a servile Parliament, exercise oppressively those high powers vested in him as the supreme head of the Church; and, like Gregory VII. in the eleventh century, coerced the bishops to

the observance of an ordinance of the Romish Church, based upon the superstitious notions of an ignorant and corrupt age, and inconsistent with the plain language of the sacred Scriptures.

The king's prerogatives were enlarged by giving to his proclamation the force of a statute of Parliament. With singular inconsistency, Henry directed a process to be issued against the Countess of Salisbury, founded, among other charges, upon the accusation "of her having employed her authority with her tenants, to hinder them from reading the new translation of the Bible."

The law of the six articles was highly acceptable to the Popish party, and reconciled them to the violent measures which had been adopted for the destruction of the monasteries. The spirit of persecution, not only encouraged by the royal authority, but called into action by these severe enactments, now rose triumphant from that pressure which had been imposed upon it. The Papists industriously sought out those who violated the statute, and in a short time not less than five hundred persons were arrested and imprisoned. The interference of Cromwell, seconded by others having an influence at court, rescued them from danger. The king, notwithstanding these rigorous enactments, preserved a balance between the religious parties, by granting permission to all persons to have in their possession and to read the new translation of the Bible.

In the month of April, 1540, Parliament was again convened. The religious differences within the kingdom seems chiefly to have engrossed the king's attention, and he immediately submitted for their deliberation the settlement of those intricate questions which agitated the nation. He informed them, by his chancellor, that "he had appointed some bishops and divines to draw up a list of tenets, to which the people were to assent; and he was determined that Christ, the doctrine of Christ, and the Truth, should have the victory."

Jane Seymour had died, in 1537, soon after the birth of her son Edward. On the 6th of January, 1540, the king was married to Anne, daughter of the Duke of Cleves. In July, Henry submitted to Parliament the question of a divorce. The charms of Catharine Howard, niece of the Duke of Norfolk, had captivated his affections, and he determined to elevate her to the throne. Parliament sanctioned the measure, by referring the legality of

the king's marriage with Anne to the convocation. This ecclesiastical body pronounced it null and void. Parliament confirmed the sentence, and made it high treason to question it. On the 8th of August, Catharine Howard was introduced to court as queen.

Norfolk had supplanted Cromwell in his influence with the king. By his intrigues, with the assistance of his niece, he obtained a commission to arrest Cromwell at the council-board, on an accusation of high treason. He was committed to the Tower; and on the 28th of July he was beheaded.

These occurrences were unfavorable to the Reformers, and the fires of Smithfield soon convinced them that other counsels than those of the vicar-general controlled the king's religious feelings. Barnes, Garret, and Jerome, had not incurred the penalties of the six articles by any act or declaration, but they had preached the doctrine of justification by faith only, and were, upon that charge, convicted of heresy and burnt. On the other side, Abel, Powel, and Featherstone, strict Romanists in faith, were accused of having denied the king's supremacy. As the Reformers were burnt for heresy, the Papists were hanged and quartered for the crime of high treason. The latter declared at the scaffold, "that the most grievous part of their punishment was the being coupled to such heretical miscreants as suffered with them."

"Great pains were taken," says Fox in his Martyrology, "by the bishops* to suppress the English Bible. The king refused to call it in, and they therefore complained much of the translation, which they wished to have condemned, and a new one promised, which might have been delayed during several years. Cranmer, perceiving that the Bible was the great eye-sore of the Popish party, and that they were resolved to oppose it by all the means they could think of, procured an order from the king, referring the correction of the translation to the two universities. The bishops took this very ill, and all of them, except those of Ely and St. David's, protested against it."

In February, 1542, the convocation, by order of the king,

* The bishops, in the reign of Henry VIII., resisted, as far as they could with safety to themselves, every effort to establish a pure and thorough Reformation in England.

appointed several of the bishops to revise the translations of the Bible ; and for this purpose, each one of them had a particular portion of the sacred Scriptures allotted to him. In the progress of this work, difficulties were interposed to prevent its completion. "Many objections were raised," says Calmet, "on various pretences, and Bishop Gardiner read a list of ninety-nine Latin words,* which he said would not admit of being translated into English." As it was evident that the bishops designed to defeat the undertaking, the king, at the suggestion of Cranmer, transferred the work to the universities. But these were, equally with the bishops, opposed to the translation of the Bible, and the work was not completed. "The insertion of Latin words," says Hume, "would have appeared extremely barbarous, and was plainly calculated for no other purpose than to retain the people in their ancient ignorance, and the proposal was rejected."

The king now directed his attention to the Missal. "This book contains the ritual for the celebration of the various masses of the Roman communion." The Missals then used were not the same in all the churches ; but the "Canon of the Mass," as inserted in the Sacramentary of Gregory the Great, from that of Pope Gelasius, in the fifth century, is said to be common to them all. Some *doubtful saints* were excluded, and the word *Pope* was erased wherever found : and this was the only change to which the *Ritual* was subjected.

But neither the bishops nor the king could check the progress of the Reformation in England, notwithstanding the severity of the statutes against heresies, while the people were permitted to peruse the sacred Scriptures. The spirit of inquiry, with an easy access to the word of God, made new developments of the truth ; and Papal errors and superstition gradually yielded to the influences of Gospel light. The religious controversies between the Papal and the Protestant parties became offensive to the king, and were at length restrained by withdrawing from the people generally the privilege of reading the Bible.

The Parliament which convened on the 22d of January, 1543, in the preamble of their prohibitory statute declared, "that many

* "Among these were : ecclesia, penitentia, pontifex, contritus, holocaustum, sacramentum, elementa, ceremonia, mysterium, presbyter, sacrificium, humilitas, satisfactio, peccatum, gratia, hostia, charitas, &c." (Hume's Hist. Eng.)

sedition and ignorant persons had abused the liberty granted them of reading the Bible ; and that great diversity of opinion, animosities, tumults and schisms had been occasioned by perverting the sense of the Scriptures." The statute condemned Tyndal's translation as crafty, false and untrue, prohibited the reading of it in any part of the realm, and ordered all copies of it to be destroyed. Bibles and New Testaments, not of Tyndal's translation, were permitted to be used, under the following conditions and restrictions : All annotations and preambles must be cut out or effaced, under a penalty of forty shillings for each volume. No person, unless appointed by the king, or an ordinary, shall read openly to another in any church or public assembly within the realm, on pain of suffering a month's imprisonment ; excepting, however, the chancellor, captains of the wars, the king's justices, recorders of any city, borough or town, the speaker of the Parliament. Every nobleman and gentleman, being a householder, may read, or cause to be read by any of his family servants, in his house, or within his premises, and to his own family, any text of the Bible ; and every merchant, being a householder, and any other persons, other than women, prentices, &c., might read to themselves privately the Bible. No woman (except noblewomen and gentlewomen, who might read to themselves alone, and not to others, any text of the Bible,) nor artificer, prentice, serving-man of the degree of yeoman or under, husbandman or laborer, shall read the Bible, or New Testament, upon pain of one month's imprisonment." (Stat. 33 Henry VIII.)

Henry was not satisfied with the book published under his authority, in 1537, entitled, "The Godly and Pious Institute of a Christian Man." He ordered another to be composed this year, which he called, "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man." "This," says Hume, "he published without asking the assent of the convocation, by his own authority and that of the Parliament." He thus determined what should be the orthodox faith of the Church of England, without consulting the bishops and clergy. This book contained a mixture of truth and error. His own opinions, variable as they seem to have been, were the only standards of orthodoxy. The doctrine most strongly inculcated in this new summary of the articles of religion was that of *passive obedience*.* A writer has remarked, "that it

* The fundamental principle of High-Churchism.

contained too much of Popery to content the Reformers, and too much of scriptural truth to please the Romanists."

In the year 1543, Henry's friendship was alienated from his ancient ally the King of France; and it is worthy of remark that among the reasons alleged by him one was, "that Francis had engaged to imitate his example in separating himself entirely from the See of Rome, and that he had broken his promise in that particular." A league was now formed between the King of England and the Emperor of Germany; and they jointly insisted that Francis should withdraw from his alliance with Sultan Solymán. On the part of Francis it was urged, that Charles had equally violated his religious obligations by uniting with a heretical prince, having solemnly pledged his imperial honor to Clement VII. never to make peace nor to form an alliance with Henry.

Pending the negotiations then carried on between England and Germany, and which terminated in their joint declaration of war against France, Parliament and the convocation assembled. The king's political powers were greatly enlarged. The authority already attached to his proclamation was confirmed, and so far extended, that if it enjoined the execution of any penal statute the accused might be tried for a disobedience of the proclamation, "under whatever pains and penalties he should think proper," agreeably to statute 31 Henry VIII.

It was this Parliament which adopted the *formula* prepared by the authority of the king, and entitled, "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man." Statutory provisions were accordingly made for its enforcement; and the laws enacted for this purpose were declared to be binding and operative for the enforcement of any rule of faith which the king might *thereafter* promulgate. The penalties attached to the violation of these royal mandates were, for the first offence, by one of the clergy, an unconditional abjuration; for the second, bearing a fagot upon the back; and for the third, burning. For the third offence by one of the laity, a forfeiture of goods and chattels and perpetual imprisonment.

As the supreme head of the Church, the king was empowered to change at his pleasure the act establishing *the six articles* which was declared to be still in force. In the following year, however, several modifications of this law were made, to mitigate its severity.

By statute 35 Henry VIII., in the year 1544, the king's title was declared to be, "King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and, on earth, the Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland."

Notwithstanding the frequent and successive enactments to establish beyond doubt and controversy the supreme spiritual character of the sovereign, Parliament, in the year 1545, declared "*the king to have always been, by the word of God, supreme head of the Church of England*;"* and that archbishops, bishops, and

* This assumption, founded on a palpable untruth, is what civil jurists have termed a *fiction of law*; as when in an action of ejectment a supposititious tenant claims to have been legally in possession of the freehold, but wrongfully ejected by the trespass and usurpation of another. This was a summary mode of proceeding, by which the true points in issue were directly attained. The sovereigns of England had never before the reign of Henry VIII. assumed to be the supreme head of the Church in that kingdom. As a branch of the Romish Church, the bishops of the Church in England were certainly suffragans of the Bishop of Rome, as early as the fifth century, and so continued until the Reformation, in the sixteenth. Nothing is known, with any positive testimony, of the Church of Britain before the meeting of the Ecumenical Council at Nice, in 325. For nearly twelve hundred years, therefore, the Bishop of Rome was the supreme head of the English Church. There would have been no solecism in the phraseology of the act, had the king been declared *supreme head of the Church then established by law*. The reader is further referred to the following explanatory note.

NOTE.—We have arrived at an important period in the ecclesiastical history of England. It might not, therefore, be deemed irrelevant to revert here to the events connected with the introduction of Christianity into that kingdom, and the establishment of the Christian Church.

Milman remarks in the third chapter of his *History of Christianity*, that "the visit of St. Paul to Britain is a fiction of religious national vanity, and has few or no advocates except English ecclesiastical antiquarians. The state of the island, in which the precarious sovereignty of Rome was still fiercely contested by the native barbarians, seems to be entirely forgotten. Civilization had made little progress in Britain till the conquest of Agricola. Up to that time it was occupied only by the invading legionaries, fully employed in extending and guarding their conquests, and our wild ancestors, with their stern Druidical hierarchy. From which class were the apostle's hearers or converts?" "My friend Dr. Cardwell," says Milman, "in a recent essay on this subject, concurs with this opinion." To which we may add the judgment of the learned English editor of Calmet, who affirms that "the stories of Paul's travels in Spain and Britain are entirely founded on uncertain tradition." The opinion that the Gospel was first propagated in Britain by Paul, originated in the fifth century

other ecclesiastical persons, have no manner of jurisdiction but by his royal mandate : and furthermore, that to him alone, and such persons as he shall appoint, full power and authority is given, *from above*, to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices and sins whatsoever." (Stat. 37 Hen. VIII.) "No mention is here made," says Hume, "of the concurrence of a convocation, or even of a Parliament. His proclamations are, in effect, acknowledged to have not only the force of law but the authority of revelation ;

from obscure passages in the writings of Theodoret, Bishop of Cyprus. Tertullian, who flourished at the close of the second century, remarked, that "the regions of the Britons inaccessible to the Romans were brought under the Christian faith;" and this was supposed by some English ecclesiastical antiquarians to have referred to England. This construction, however, is controverted by the historical facts, that this part of the island was invaded by Julius Cæsar, anno 55 B. C. ; by the Emperor Claudius, A. D. 43 ; by Paulinus Suetonius, in the reign of Nero, A. D. 61 ; and that Agricola, A. D. 83, in the reign of Domitian, completed its subjugation by a line of posts from the Firth of Forth to that of Clyde. What portion of the British Isles could have been referred to ?

O'Halloran, in his "Antiquities of Ireland," has shown, by the authority of Ptolemy the geographer, that the "*Bretanikas Neesous*" (or British Islands) of the ancients, were distinguished, the one as *Albion* and the other as *Ierne* ; also by that of Eustatius, the Greek interpreter of Dionysius, that they were called *Allouin* and *Ournia*, or Albion and Birnia ; and by St. Chrysostom, that Britain and Ireland were both embraced under the general denomination of the British Isles. Ireland was not invaded by the Romans, although "it was the design of Agricola to complete and ensure his success, by its easy reduction with one legion and a few auxiliaries." To Ireland, then, Tertullian must have alluded. In confirmation of this, Bede, an English ecclesiastical historian of the seventh and eighth centuries, states, that "the early Saxons were converted by missionaries from Ireland, and that Irish bishops presided over the churches planted among them."

The writer on the Antiquities of Ireland has referred to the authority of Usher for the assertion advanced by him that "St. James, the son of Zebedee, preached the Gospel in Ireland," and states that "Mansuetus, a disciple of the Apostle John, not only propagated the Christian doctrines on that island, but founded churches, which for many centuries after resisted the Papal supremacy, and rejected some of the peculiar rites of the Romish Church." From Ireland, then, it would appear that Christianity was introduced into England. In the second century, in the reign of Con, the celebrated St. Cathaldus extended his missionary labors to the continent, and in the third century an Irish bishop was martyred in England. (O'Halloran.)

In the Council of Arles (314), there were three bishops from Britain. In the first ecumenical council at Nice (325) bishops from Britain were present ; and

and by his royal power he might regulate the actions of men, control their words, and even direct their inward sentiments and opinions."

In the year 1546, the Litany, containing the forms of supplication in public worship, by the permission of the king, was drawn up in the English language. This was an innovation which the Reformers received as favorable to their cause. A prayer was

as it was by that council that certain rites and doctrines maintained by the Western Church were authoritatively established, the churches in Britain must then have been associated with those on the continent, in the general regulation of ecclesiastical matters. In the year 380, bishops from Britain attended the Council of Rimini. This council reversed the decrees of that assembled at Nice, and sustained the Arian doctrine. In the year 431, Palladius was ordained by Pope Celestine, and sent a missionary to Ireland. Prosper of Aquitaine, referring to this mission, says: "Celestine, having ordained a bishop for the Scots Irish, while he endeavored to keep the Roman island, or Britain, Catholic, made the barbarous island, or Ireland, Christian." "The evident sense of which is," says O'Halloran, "that while he attended to the care of Britain, which always acknowledged the power of Rome, he forgot not the same zeal and concern for Ireland, though it had never admitted of Roman jurisdiction."

In the year 595, St. Austin, accompanied by forty monks, was sent to England by Gregory I., to complete the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, and his mission was crowned with success. It appears, however, that subsequently the greater part of the bishops of England received their ordination from the presbyters who came out of the College of Huy, founded by Columba in the sixth century." This succession of English bishops by the Scottish presbyters' ordination was received as valid, and continued until the year 668, when Theodore, a Grecian monk, the well-known author of "*the Penitential*," was ordained and consecrated to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury by the Pope Vitalianus. After this period the Apostolical succession continued without any material interruption until the reign of Henry VIII. In the year 725, Ina, King of Wessex, established a college at Rome, which was supported by a tribute of one penny from each house, called *Romescot*, or *Peterpence*. In 787, an ecclesiastical council, convened by the legate of the Pope, Adrian I., undertook to establish certain rules of succession to the throne, and their canons were confirmed by at least two of the kings of the heptarchy. Under the pontificate of Leo IV., King Ethelwolf, in 855, yielded to the tribute of tithes; and it was not long after this period that the clergy enjoyed nearly one half of the property in England. In the middle of the tenth century the influence of the English prelates appears to have transcended the authority of the crown; and this was remarkably exhibited by the arbitrary demeanor of Dunstan toward King Edwy and his queen Elgiva; and in the dethronement of that prince, and the elevation of his brother Edgar, and the cruelties inflicted upon Elgiva, by Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury.

added, "to save us from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and from all his detestable enormities."

The change now made in the collection of the offices of divine worship, laid the foundation for a subsequent compilation, which, after many amendments and alterations, formed the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England. The edition prepared under the authority of the king, and known as the *King's Primer*,

Writers of unquestionable authority have admitted that the early history of the Church in England has been derived, for the most part, from tradition, or records of doubtful authenticity. Although to the missionaries of Ireland must be awarded the merit of having introduced Christianity into that country—and we have the authority of Bede that the Irish bishops presided over the churches first planted on that island—the Bishops of London, of York, and of Caerleon, who were present at the Council of Arles in 314, and those who attended the Council of Nice, in 325, must have accorded with the Western Church in the rites and doctrines then established, and therefore differed from the Irish bishops, who continued until the seventh century to conform universally with the rites and customs of the Asiatic or Eastern Churches. Prosper, who flourished in the fifth century, directly affirms, that Britain was under the jurisdiction of Rome before the mission of Palladius to Ireland by Celestine, in 431. At what period this jurisdiction was first established cannot be determined by any positive evidence of an unquestionable character. The Papal supremacy over the Churches of Britain may therefore be dated from the commencement of the fifth century, with the authority of that writer; although there is little doubt that it must have been established at an earlier period. The circumstances connected with the episcopal ordinations before the mission of Palladius, are, however, involved in an impenetrable mystery.

We have thus adverted to some of the prominent features of the Church in England, from its institution to the age preceding the conquest, in a view of which there are no peculiar characteristics discernible which distinguish it from other Churches organized at that early period under the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Rome. It is true that English ecclesiastical antiquarians, from feelings of religious national vanity, have amused themselves with the delineations of a church in Britain founded by the Apostle Paul, and independent of the Romish Hierarchy until the mission of St. Austin. It is safe, however, to adhere rigidly to historical facts, and not to indulge in the pencillings of the imagination. The elevation of a *tonsured* monk of Tarsus, in 668, to the See of Canterbury, had it been an isolated fact, establishes beyond controversy the entire supremacy of the Bishops of Rome over the branch of the Papal Church in England at that period. Admitting that individual efforts were occasionally made to resist the abuses of Popery, these were neither the acts of the Church, nor were they countenanced or sustained by it. History has recorded the ancient privileges of the Gallican Church; but the Anglican Church seems never to have claimed any peculiar exemptions from the spiritual domination of Rome.

contained the Calendar, the King's Highness' Injunction, the Lord's Prayer, the Salutation of the Angel, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Matins, the Even-Song, the Compline, the Seven Psalms, the Litany, the Dirge, the Commendations, the Psalms of the Passions, the Passion of our Lord, &c.

The king, however, repressed the hopes of the Reformers, by punishing with his usual severity those who differed from him in the Popish doctrines which he still maintained.

The Book of Common Prayer, &c., was compiled from the ancient forms of service which had been used by the Popish Churches, but were new-modelled to a conformity with the principles of the Reformation. The term *Liturgy* was originally applied to the service of the eucharist; but this rite was afterward expressed by the term *Mass* in the Western Church. The English Liturgy, however, comprehends all the various services of the Church. The ancient liturgies, from which those in general use were derived, were: the *Oriental*, the *Alexandrian*, the *Roman*, and the *Gallican*. "Out of all these," says Wheatley, "the compilers extracted an office for themselves." However early after the days of the Apostles peculiar forms of worship were prescribed, "the earliest period at which any liturgical forms were consigned to writing, is the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century. To the latter date, the most ancient, or the Liturgy of St. Basil, has been traced." The Oriental, or Liturgy of St. James, contains the word *consubstantial*, not known before the year 325; the terms *Trisagion* (thrice holy), and *Gloria Patri* (Glory to the Father), not used before the fifth century. There are traces throughout this formula, as in the others mentioned, of an age many centuries later than the Apostolic. It is admitted that there are no certain data by which it can be determined at what period they were severally composed. All we know of them certainly, is, that they were compiled in the dark ages; and as the contributions of an idolatrous and superstitious generation, they are of little value or authority on account of their antiquity.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM the year 1526, in which the discussion between Eckius and Œcolampadius was held in Baden, the principles of the Reformation were widely diffused throughout the cantons of Switzerland. The religious controversies assumed a more bitter and more vindictive character. Zwingle was advised not to appear at Baden, as a conspiracy had been formed by the Popish party to seize him by force, or by stratagem, with the supposed intention of taking his life. The pastor of Lindaw had been committed to the flames a few days only before the discussion commenced ; and another Reform minister was at the same time drowned at Friburg : the former by the consistory, at the instigation of Faber ; the latter by order of the Bishop of Constance. Zwingle, although not present, assisted by his counsel, secretly communicated. The defeat of Eckius incensed the Papists in the highest degree ; and their indignation was particularly directed against Zwingle. "I thought," said Murner, a monk of Lucerne, "that the dastard would have appeared and answered for himself, but he has not done so : I am therefore justified by every law, both human and divine, in declaring, forty times over, that the tyrant of Zurich, and all his partisans, are rebels, liars, perjured persons, adulterers, infidels, thieves, robbers of temples, fit only for the gallows ; and that any honest man must disgrace himself if he hold any intercourse with them, of what kind soever."

The assembly at Zurich, composed of delegates from five other cantons, in the beginning of the year 1527, expressed themselves in the following forcible language : "We require," they said, "that God's word, which alone leads us to Christ crucified, be

the one thing preached, taught, and exalted. We renounce all doctrines of men, whatever may have been the custom of our forefathers ; being well assured that if they had been visited by this divine light of the Word, which we enjoy, they would have embraced it with more reverence than we, their unworthy descendants."

The emissaries of Clement were indefatigable in their efforts to arrest the further progress of the Reformation. Berne, one of the most powerful of the confederates, had been represented in the assembly at Zurich ; and there the Popish cantons determined to convene by their deputies, and counteract the movements of the Reformers. Eight days after the conference at Zurich the deputies of the forest cantons assembled in Berne. Their tone was threatening. "They called upon the council to deprive the innovating teachers of their office, to proscribe their doctrines, and to maintain the ancient and true Christian faith, as confirmed by past ages, and sealed," they said, "by the blood of martyrs." They imperatively called upon the Bernese to proceed decisively in these measures, or they would themselves undertake to extirpate the evil. The Bernese were not intimidated by language equally presumptuous and comminatory : "We require no assistance," they replied, "in the directing of those who hold authority under us." From this period Berne was destined to act an important part in the religious movements in Switzerland.

William Farel, a native of Dauphiny, the seat of the Waldenses, breathed into the Reformed party, whenever he preached, an active and intrepid zeal in the propagation of Gospel truth. We have seen him the pastor of Montbeliard, in the frontier province of France, in the year 1524. In 1526, under the disguised character of a schoolmaster, he arrived in a little town in the canton of Berne. In this capacity he inculcated the doctrines of the Reformation, and exposed the Popish superstitions of purgatory and the invocation of saints. But it was not in this quiet sphere that God designed this fearless missionary of the Cross to move. Farel soon emerged from his seclusion, and boldly announced his name. The council of Berne invited him to preach ; and notwithstanding the remonstrances and opposition of the municipal authorities, he publicly expounded the Gos-

pel, and proclaimed the free offers of salvation through the unmerited grace of God.

The strength of the Reformed party exhibited itself in the following year by the ascendancy it obtained in the great council, and through it in the appointment to the civil offices in the State. That party now demanded a public discussion of the religious questions in controversy. Uri, Underwalden, Schwitz, Lucerne, and Zug, had warmly espoused the Papal interest, and strenuously resisted the proposal. "Every State," said the Zurichers, "is free to choose the doctrine it wishes to profess," and they advocated the measure. Discussions had every where been fatal to Popery; and a wise policy dictated their suppression. "We have received the letter of this leper, of this accursed heretic, Zwingli," said the ecclesiastics, "but we will not go to Berne; we will not crawl into that obscure corner of the world; we will not go and combat in that gloomy cavern, in that school of heretics. They want to take the Bible for their judge; but has the Bible a voice against those who do it violence? Let these villains come out into the open air, and contend with us on level ground, if they have the Bible on their side, as they say." They appealed to the emperor, and he issued an order, prohibiting the discussion.

But the imperial edict was disregarded; and on the 7th of January, 1528, the discussion commenced. On the side of the Reformers, were Zwingli, Haller, Œcolampadius, Bucer, Farel, Capito and Blarer; opposed to them, were Dr. Treger, of Friburg, and three hundred and fifty Swiss and German ecclesiastics. It was agreed between the disputants, that "no proofs shall be proposed that are not drawn from the Holy Scriptures; and no explanation shall be given of those Scriptures, that does not come from Scripture itself; explaining obscure texts by such as are clear." This secured a triumph to the Reformers.

All the points of faith and practice in which the parties differed were severally discussed. Tradition, the merits of Christ, transubstantiation, the mass, prayer to the saints, purgatory, images, celibacy, and the disorders of the clergy were, each in turn, canvassed with the wonted zeal and untiring research which distinguished the controversies of the time. "If they wish to burn the ministers of Berne," exclaimed the priest of Rap-

perswyl, provoked by the obstinacy, and confounded by the arguments of his opponents, "I will undertake to carry them both to the stake."

But such was not the determination of the Council of Berne. On the 23d of January, it decreed, "that the mass should be abolished, and that every one might remove from the churches the ornaments he had placed there." The altars were prostrated, and the images were cast out in broken fragments. The priests were wrought up to the highest pitch of indignation, and beheld, with religious horror, the profanation of the temple, and the destruction of their gods. "Behold," said Zwingle, as he addressed an immense multitude from the pulpit, "behold these idols! behold them conquered, mute, and shattered before us! These corpses must be dragged to the shambles, and the gold you have spent upon these foolish images must henceforward be devoted to comforting, in their misery, the living images of God. Feeble souls, ye shed tears over these sad idols; do ye not see that they break, do ye not hear that they crack like any other wood, or like any other stone? Look! here is one deprived of its head; here is another maimed of its arms. If this ill usage had done any harm to the saints that are in heaven, and if they had the power ascribed to them, would you have been able, I pray, to cut off their arms and their heads?" The preacher then solemnly addressed his audience; exhorted them to be steadfast in the faith they had professed, and not to suffer themselves again to be seduced by the devices and the superstitious follies of the Romish priesthood; and encouraged them with the hope, that God would, in like manner as he had blessed them with the light of his truth, communicate his spiritual knowledge to the other confederate cantons.

The Reformation of Berne was complete. The idolatries of Rome were cast aside; the forms of worship, as instituted at Zurich, were established, and the four bishoprics within the canton were abolished. "These reverend pastors," said the Bernese, "know well how to shear their sheep, but not how to feed them." A like spirit prevailed throughout the canton. The Lord's Supper was celebrated agreeably to the rites of the Reformed Churches; the communion was administered in both kinds; and the bread and wine were spiritually received as emblems of the broken body and shed blood of the Saviour. St.

Gall soon followed in the footsteps of Berne. The images from the churches were removed; and the ancient mysteries of the abbey were exposed to the ridicule of the populace. The sacred relics which had been presented to the deluded votaries of Popery, as objects of divine worship, were discovered to be—tattered rags—a skull—a large tooth—and shells of snails. Glaris, Appenzel, the Grisons, Schaffhausen, and Basle, successively adopted the doctrines and rites of the Reformed religion. In Basle, the spirit of Reformation not only purified the churches, but it entered the university. Erasmus withdrew from this seat of learning; and the chairs of the professors were occupied by those who maintained the tenets of the new faith. Thus do we find the cantons arraying themselves under two opposing and hostile standards. An intemperate zeal, the characteristic of a people, warlike by education and habit, ardent in their love of liberty, simple, but honest in their convictions, and impatient under foreign control, gave an impulse to the movements of the religious parties which now divided Switzerland. In the progress of these events we perceive the incipient approaches of those internal commotions, and of that unhappy warfare, which soon after impelled the confederate cantons to unsheath the sword, and to forget those kindred ties, and ancient associations, which had united them in their mutual struggles for political independence; associations endeared by the recollections of not less than sixty hard fought battles with their oppressors, before their liberties were secured.

Berne now took up the cause of the Reformation, not only in steadfastness of faith, but with fervent zeal, and with a holy enthusiasm. Under its auspices Farel undertook the task of evangelizing those regions of the Jura mountains into which the light of divine truth had not yet penetrated. In the close of the year 1529 he entered the town of Morat, four leagues west of the city of Berne. From Morat he passed on to Neufchatel, and to Valangin. On a pillar of the church in Neufchatel the triumph of the Gospel was perpetuated in the recollection of its citizens by the following inscription:—*On the 23d of October, 1530, idolatry was overthrown and removed from the Church by the citizens.*” “By the illumination of the Holy Ghost, and by the holy doctrines of the Gospel, which are taught us in the pure word of God, we will show that the mass is an abuse,

without any utility, and which conduces much more to the damnation than to the salvation of souls. And we are ready to prove that by taking away the altars we have done nothing that was not right and acceptable to God." Such was the general language of the inhabitants of Neufchatel.* The adherents to the Roman faith were few, but they were resolute in maintaining their ancient religion. In a moment of excitement they grasped the hilts of their swords, and addressing themselves to the governor, exclaimed, "All of us, my lord, who adhere to the holy Sacrament are resolved to die martyrs for our holy faith." But the spirit of Popery yielded to the irresistible impulse. The priests, fearful of the popular indignation, secretly performed the offices of their religion. "They glided into the houses, said mass to a few friends mysteriously called together around a temporary altar. If a child was born, the priest noiselessly arrived, breathed on the infant, made the sign of the cross on its forehead and breast, and baptized it according to the Roman Ritual." What they could not accomplish with the sword they attempted by intrigue and conspiracy. A plot was artfully contrived to seize the church by force during the celebration of Christmas, expel the Reformers from the sanctuary, demolish their table, and reinstate their idols. Their secret designs were however discovered, and the conspiracy was defeated, by the vigilance and the threatening defiance of the Bernese. Farel proceeded northward along the foot of the Jura mountains, and again proclaimed the truths of the Gospel in the vicinities of Montbéliard, where, seven years before, he had assumed the duties of a pastoral charge.

"A great energy," says D'Aubigné, "characterized the Reformation of French Switzerland. Men have attributed to Farel this distinctive feature of his work; but no man has ever created his own times; it is always, on the contrary, the times that create the man." "A great man may be the personification and the type of the epoch for which God destines him: he is never its creator."

We have traced the progress of the Reformation in Western

* Neufchatel—a canton in the west of Switzerland, and contiguous to France. Its language is the French. Its capital, Neufchatel, is on the lake of the same name.

Switzerland to the events of the year 1531. While these events were transpiring, and the Gospel was triumphing over the proud and corrupt hierarchy of Rome, on the frontier, from lake Neufchatel towards the eastern base of the Vosgese mountains, others, more momentous in their consequences, agitated the interior cantons; and the strife of arms ensued, in which the Zurichers were the victims of Popish conquerors and Popish vengeance.

It has been remarked by a historian, that the Reformation in Switzerland unfortunately assumed a political character. The cantons which embraced it became united by this new religious tie, and by this new ecclesiastical connection seemed to have formed among themselves an alliance incompatible with the safety and integrity of the confederacy. But, that this must have been an inevitable result is evident from the natural tendencies of associations, which bring individuals into combination. The cantons were separate and distinct sovereignties, loosely connected together by articles of a solemn treaty. In some of them we see the features of a monarchical government; in others, of a democratical. Provisions were made in the instrument of compact for accommodating internal differences; but there was scarcely a trace discoverable in this peculiar organization of what, in the American phraseology, may be termed a general government. There was not even a common tribunal for the adjudication and settlement of cases in controversy between different cantons, as members of the confederacy. Their bond of union was therefore preserved so long as the pressure from without—the dangers from encroachments by surrounding nations—acted as a counterpoise to the centrifugal power inherent in the system. Their political interests being identical, their internal or domestic relations were easily adjusted and preserved. But when religious differences arose, new questions of interests necessarily followed. New claims sprung up, and a diversity of opinions on subjects which have ever exercised an invincible control over the reason as well as the passions of men. In the sixteenth century, two systems of religion, as diverse as heathenism and Christianity, had their respective adherents; as incommiscible as darkness and light; as irreconcilable as the powers of the air and the kingdom of God. When these religious differences prevailed there was no authority in the State,

as in England and France, to overawe and to silence the disputants. As individuals who embraced the Reformed doctrines associated for a common object; so the several cantons, under a similar impulse, united in a common league. What, therefore, has been deplored as an evil was the necessary result of circumstances. The union of the Reformed cantons, however; was neither an error nor a misfortune. It may have been the innocent cause of civil commotions in the confederacy, but it strengthened the party defending the truths of the Gospel, and secured to them the enjoyment of their religious rights. If this spiritual association assumed a political character, and trespassed on the terms and conditions of the general alliance, it was driven to this point by the persecuting spirit and the overbearing measures of the Papal Hierarchy. Let not the responsibility for the evils which followed be imposed upon that party who fought for religious liberty and the right of conscience, and by fighting maintained them.

The five forest cantons—Uri, Schwitz, Zug, Unterwalden, and Lucerne—were distinguished then, as they are in the present century, as Popish cantons. In 1528, the Reformers were treated with cruelty in Zug and Schwitz. "Fines, imprisonment, torture, the scourge, confiscation, and banishment," says D'Aubigné, "were enforced against them. The tongues of the ministers were cut out, they were beheaded, and were condemned to be burnt. At the same time, the Bibles and all the evangelical books were seized, and if any poor Lutherans, fleeing from Austria, crossed the Rhine and that low valley where its calm waters flow between the Alps of the Tyrol and of Appenzel—if these poor creatures, tracked by the lansquenets, came to seek a refuge in Switzerland, they were cruelly given up to their persecutors." "The Bishop of Constance wrote to the five cantons, that if they did not act with firmness all the country would embrace the Reform."

A meeting of the prelates, nobles, judges, and persons of note, was held on the 6th of December, 1528, at Weinfelden, near Constance. Through the entreaty of deputies from Zurich and Berne, it was determined that the preaching of the word should not be prohibited. Defeated in their purpose, the votaries of Rome had one alternative left—a foreign alliance. It was against the oppressions of the House of Austria that the forest

cantons had valiantly fought in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Austria was now implored to send an armed force into Switzerland to subjugate the Reform cantons, and restore to the country its ancient religion. "The power of the enemies of our ancient faith has so increased," said the deputy to the Governor of Feldkirch, "that the friends of the Church can resist them no longer. We therefore turn our eyes to that illustrious prince who has saved in Germany the faith of our fathers." In the month of April, 1529, a treaty of alliance was formed. By it it was declared, that all new sects in religion should be destroyed. Austria agreed to send into Switzerland six thousand foot soldiers and four hundred horse, with the requisite artillery. The Reformed cantons were to be blockaded, and every measure adopted to reduce them to submission. The conquered territories on the left bank of the Rhine were guaranteed to the forest cantons.

A general alarm prevailed throughout the cantons not embraced in this foreign alliance. Their deputies convened at Zurich, and determined upon an appeal to the forest cantons which had invoked the powers of Austria to invade the Swiss territories. The ambassadors were received with reproaches and censures. "We declare our alliance at an end," said the people of Underwalden; "the Waldstettes* are the real Swiss. We graciously admitted you into our confederation, and now you claim to be our masters! The Emperor, Austria, France, Savoy, and Valais will assist us!"

The reception of the ambassadors, and the haughty language with which they were addressed, inflamed the minds of the Zurichers; and Zwingli counselled the adoption of immediate and energetic measures of retaliation. To this the Bernese objected as injudicious. But during the deliberation they were informed that Jacques Keyser, a pastor of Oberkirk in Baden, had been seized, and conducted to the magistrates of Schwitz to be tried as one of the *innovating ministers*. Notwithstanding the interposition of Zurich and Glaris, Keyser was condemned to be burnt alive; and the sentence was soon after executed.

Zurich at once unfurled the banner, and five hundred men, with four pieces of artillery, marched to Bremgarten, in the can-

* The inhabitants of the five primitive or forest cantons.

ton of Aargau. At the same time an army from Underwalden was advancing toward the same point. All Switzerland was in arms. Emissaries hastened to Valais and to Austria to implore the aid of troops. Six hundred Zurichers now advanced toward the centre cantons; and four thousand repaired to Cappel, nine miles from Zurich and three from Zug. Zwingle was not an inactive spectator of these martial preparations. "When my brethren expose their lives, I will not remain quietly at home by my fireside," said this intrepid missionary of the cross. "Besides, the army requires a watchful eye, that looks continually around it." With his steel-pointed shaft upon his shoulder, he mounted his horse, and accompanied the army. Such was the state of Switzerland in the month of June, 1529.

Berne refused to sustain Zurich. The Reformed cantons engaged in the conflict without harmony, and without any systematic plan of operation. The Papal cantons were united; and moved to the battle-field with promptness, "to the sound of the antique horns that Lucerne pretended to have received from the Emperor Charlemagne." Berne called upon Zurich to lay down its arms, and to the other cantons to compromise their differences, with a threat of enforcing its injunctions. Zwingle was still unshaken in his purpose. He believed that peace under existing circumstances would paralyze the future efforts of the Reformed cantons. But the counsel of Berne prevailed. An armistice was agreed to, and on the 26th of June, a treaty of peace was concluded between the parties. The terms were unsatisfactory to both; and it was evident that the pacification was but a cessation of arms. The Waldstettes were apprehensive that they had compromised their faith, which they solemnly swore never to abandon: the Zurichers received the concessions made to them, as insufficient guaranties of their religious privileges. The armies retired to their respective cantons, and tranquillity was for a time restored.

The stipulations accorded with the views of neither party. Liberty of conscience was guaranteed; which, it might have been foreseen, the Papists would never concede to their opponents: no provision was made for the free preaching of the word, which the Reformers could not be persuaded to relinquish. Accordingly, within three months after the ratification of the treaty, a pastor of Zug fearlessly preached the Gospel in Soleure;

and the council, under the Popish influence, attempted to compel him to say mass. Liberty of conscience was demanded by the Reformers; and the patricians and canons succeeded in compelling them to retire to a neighboring village to hear the word of God. The forest cantons complained, that "a few wretched mischief-makers penetrating into their borders, troubled men's souls, distributed their frippery, scattered every where little poems, tracts, and Testaments, and ceased not from saying that the people ought not to believe the priests;" and in their turn, they seized these heretics, soul-stealers, and conscience-slayers, as they entitled the Reformers, cast them into prison, cruelly tormented them, and banished them from the cantons. Zwingle was the principal object of their hatred. "There is not a Zurcher," they said, "who does not indulge in unnatural sins, and who is not a robber at the very least." They openly pronounced Zwingle "a thief, a murderer, and an arch-heretic." "I shall not rest," said a pensioner, "until I have thrust my sword up to the hilt in the heart of this impious wretch." Such were the animosities which agitated the minds of the people. The Reformed cantons ceased not to propagate their new doctrines by preaching and by the distribution of Bibles and religious publications; and although they were more populous and more powerful than those adhering to the Romish Church, they resorted not to the expedients of the prison and the rack, to silence their opponents, or to convert them to their faith.

It was at this period that Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, invited the German and Swiss divines to a conference at Marpurg. It has been already mentioned, that an animated controversy, and an irreconcilable difference had arisen between them on the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist. The conference was opened on the 2d day of October, 1529. Before the discussion commenced, Luther inscribed with a chalk on the velvet cover of the table the following words, in large and legible characters: "*Hoc est corpus meum.*"*

* Luther's denial, that the bread and wine are changed, by consecration, into the real body and blood of Christ, and, moreover, that they are figuratively the symbols of these, involved him in a manifest difficulty, if not in an absurdity. His idea appears to have been this: "That the bread and wine were not *transubstantiated*, or changed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ; but,

The views of Luther on this intricate question have been variously represented ; and indeed seem not at the present time to be correctly understood. The distinguished writer of "the History of the Great Reformation," has sketched with his graphic pen the proceedings at this memorable conference. He has undertaken to record the language of the parties in this exciting discussion, and having an entire confidence in the correctness of his statement, I shall transcribe from his work such parts as will present the several opinions of the disputants in the most intelligible points of view.

"I believe," said Luther, "that Christ's body is in heaven, but I also believe that it is in the sacrament. It concerns me little whether that be against nature, provided that it is not against faith. Christ is substantially in the sacrament, such as he was born of the Virgin." Œcolampadius quoting a passage from St. Paul : "We know not Jesus Christ after the flesh : " Luther replied, "After the flesh means, in this passage, after our carnal affections." "You will not allow," rejoined Œcolampadius, "that there is a metaphor in these words: *This is my body*—and yet you admit a synecdoche." "Metaphor," said Luther, "permits the existence of a sign only ; but it is not so with synecdoche. If a man," says he, "wishes to drink a bottle, we understand that he means the beer in the bottle.* Christ's body is in the bread, as a sword in the scabbard, or as the Holy Ghost in the dove." This is unintelligible sophistry, and mere paradoxism !

"I oppose you," said Zwingli, "with this article of our faith—*He ascended into heaven*. If Christ is in heaven as regards his

the body and blood of Christ were *consubstantiated*, that is, actually present *in*, *with*, and *under* the elements of bread and wine ; and were therefore literally eaten and drank by the communicants." If this was his meaning, the difficulty was not removed by supposing that the glorified body of Christ was made to exist under the property or quality of a distinct substance, or under the accidents of bread and wine ; a predicable of which we can form no intelligent notion by the most subtle process of abstraction.

* Dum fruges Cererem, vinum Liberum dicimus, genere nos quidem sermonis utimur usitato, sed ecquen tam amentem esse putas, qui illud quo *vescatur Deus* credat esse ? So wrote Cicero before the Christian era. In the Council of Lateran, A. D. 1215, there were many wise men silly enough to believe that they ate God in the consecrated wafer.

body, how can he be in the bread? The word of God teaches us that he was like his brethren in all things. He, therefore, cannot be in several places at once." "Were I desirous," replied Luther, "of reasoning thus, I would undertake to prove that Jesus Christ had a wife, that he had black eyes, and lived in our good country of Germany."

Luther, pointing to the words he had written on the table, exclaimed: "Most dear sirs, since my Lord Jesus Christ says, *this is my body*, I believe that his body is really there." Here the scene grew animated. Zwingli started from his chair, sprung towards Luther, and striking the table before him, said to him: "You maintain then, doctor, that Christ's body is locally in the eucharist; for you say Christ's body is really *there—there—there*," repeated Zwingli. "*There*," he continued, "is an adverb of place. Christ's body is then of such a nature as to exist in a place. If it is in a place, it is in heaven, whence it follows it is not in the bread." Luther rejoined, "I have nothing to do with mathematical proofs. As soon as the words of consecration are pronounced over the bread, the body is there, however wicked be the priest who pronounces them." "You are re-establishing Popery," said Zwingli.

"Christ's body," Luther remarked in explanation, "is in the sacrament, but it is not there as in a place." "Then," replied Zwingli, "it is not there at all. Œcolampadius, addressing himself to Luther, said, "The body of Christ is not in the eucharist, therefore no real body is there; for every one knows that the essence of a body is its existence in a place."

The disputants could make no nearer approach to a uniformity of opinions. It was proposed that Luther should draw up his articles of faith, and submit them to the assembly. Among them was the following, which referred to the subject in controversy: "We all believe with regard to the Lord's Supper, that it ought to be celebrated in both kinds, according to the primitive institution; that the mass is not a work by which a Christian obtains pardon for another man, whether dead or alive: that the sacrament of the altar is the sacrament of the very body and very blood of Jesus Christ; that the spiritual manducation (*spiritualis manducatio*!) of this body and blood is specially necessary for every true Christian." The last article, that, "although at present we are not agreed on the question whether

the real body and blood of Christ are corporeally present in the bread and wine, yet both the interested parties shall cherish more and more a truly Christian charity for one another, so far as conscience permits; and we will all earnestly implore the Lord to condescend by his Spirit to confirm us in the sound doctrine," was inserted as one of compromise. The formula contained fifteen articles; and was subscribed by all the divines present.*

This apparent reconciliation was not, however, productive of a permanent good. The division between the Swiss and German Churches, was neither softened down nor removed. Luther had remarked, before the conference at Marburg, that "he would rather receive the *mere blood* with the Pope, than the *mere wine* with Zwingle." In that conference he emphatically exclaimed—"This is my body—that is our text; you have not driven us from it, as you had boasted, and we care for no other proofs."

But there were other points of difference between these two distinguished Reformers. Zwingle designed to establish a worship purely spiritual. In the organization of the Church he rigidly adhered to the letter of simple construction of the sacred Scriptures; giving, however, to their doctrines an interpretation in accordance with the tenor and spirit of a divine revelation. In its rites and ceremonies he rejected all that was not expressly enjoined in the Holy Writ. He inquired not what had been the forms of government, the tenets, or the forms of worship and practices of Christian Churches, since the days of the Apostles. Antiquity of customs presented to his mind no evidence of a divine sanction. The Bible alone was the standard of his faith. "Luther's great principle was never to depart from the doctrines or customs of the Church, unless the words of Scripture absolutely required him to do so." Zwingle's inquiry was—what has been commanded? that of Luther—what has been forbidden? Here was a marked difference in a fundamental principle. In modern phraseology, the Swiss Reformer was a strict constructionist; the German, a latitudinarian. Hence it was, that images, altars, wax tapers, exorcisms, and private confession, were unhesitatingly banished from the Re-

* D'Aubigné's Hist. Reform., Vol. 4.

formed Churches in Switzerland ; while they were viewed with toleration and indulgence in Germany.

Luther, in 1530, subsequent to the compromise of Marburg, evinced his unsubdued spirit of enmity toward the followers of Zwingle, by refusing to comprehend them in the alliance and confederation formed at Smalcalde and afterward at Frankfort, for the defence of the religion and liberties of the German Reformers against the edict of the emperor, issued at Augsburg. His intolerance was extended to the German cities which had presented to the Diet at Augsburg the Tetrapolitan Confession ; because they had adopted the doctrine of Zwingle in relation to the eucharist. A singular hallucination obscured the mind of Luther on this subject.

The bold and comprehensive genius of Zwingle had designed, as early as 1527, a holy league of the Reformers for the protection of the new faith against the political authorities which opposed its progress. During his visit at Marburg, a systematic plan seems to have been formed, in which the Landgrave of Hesse actively co-operated, of uniting the Princes, and the free cities of Germany, with the cantons of Switzerland favorable to the cause of Reformation, in a common alliance against the emperor. It was in contemplation to embrace within this religious confederacy, if practicable, the States of Italy. In allusion to this he wrote to Philip, not many days after his return to Zurich, and expressed a hope that God had chosen him for great events. "I dare think, but I dare not speak of them," he said. "We must bell the cat at last. All that I can do with my feeble means, to manifest the truth, to save the Universal Church, to augment your power and the power of those who love God, with God's help, I will do." An embassy was sent, by the persuasions of Zwingle, from Zurich to Venice. The Doge was invoked to unite with the cities of the *Christian co-burghery*, as the league was termed, in humbling the arrogant pretensions of the German Emperor to universal dominion. Overtures were made to the French King. Francis projected the conquest of Lombardy, and an alliance with the Swiss cantons might facilitate the enterprise. But the cantons were divided by religious differences. The efforts of Zurich and its coadjutors would be neutralized. The success of the Gospel was not the object of the French court ; and the negotiation was abruptly concluded.

The grand project of a Christian State, or co-burghery, of which Zwingli appears to have been the creating and controlling genius, proved, in the end, the baseless fabric of a vision. The Waldstettes had formed an alliance with Austria, the ancient enemy of the Helvetic Republic : Zurich attempted to organize a league with foreign princes and States, on a more comprehensive scale, and failed. In the mean time, the progress of events in Switzerland portended a crisis in its religious controversies which would call forth the highest energies of a warlike and spirited people.

Since the pacification of the 26th of June, 1529, the Reformation had extended far beyond its former limits. In September of that year, Schaffhausen embraced the new faith, abolished the mass, and rallied under the standards of Berne and Zurich. On Easter Monday, in 1530, Glaris, after wavering between the two opinions, decided finally against Romanism, and established the new forms of worship. The Waldstettes beheld with indignation the overthrow of their ancient rites even in their immediate vicinities ; and were passive no longer. Their murmurs, and their threats of inviting the armies of the Empire to their aid, aroused the Zurichers to a full sense of their danger, when they unexpectedly heard, "that nine hundred Spaniards had entered the Grisons, that three thousand imperial lansquenets were approaching from Germany, and that the emperor himself was ready to support them with all his forces." The Reformed cantons assembled their forces ; and eleven thousand men advanced to repel the invasion. The forest cantons were quiet amid the dangers which threatened the safety of the country. The invaders retreated ; but why did not those cantons rally under the banner of the confederacy, when a foreign foe approached its territories ? This was another and a serious cause of aggravation.

In September, 1530, a Diet of the cantons was convened at Baden. The ministers of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Strasburg, addressed that assembly, in a memorial, on the subject of the religious differences which distracted the country, and on the necessity of restoring unanimity of feeling. How can this happy result be obtained, they asked, but by the blessing of God ? which cannot be expected while the preaching of his word is prohibited. Their appeal was unavailable. The Waldstettes

were immovable : and all hopes of a reconciliation between the contending parties vanished.

At a Diet in January, 1531, the forest cantons expressed their discontent, in a strong and angry tone. They complained that their ancient alliances had been disrespected ; and called upon the confederate cantons to aid them in their efforts to restore those ancient relations, or they would themselves subdue the guilty violence ; and " may the Holy Trinity," they said, " assist us in this work." Complaints were now uttered in threatening language by the people themselves. " Have not these heretics," they said, " dared to form a *Christian Fraternity*, as if old Switzerland was a heathen country ?" Secret counsels were frequently held ; alliances, with the Pope, with the Valais, with the emperor, were severally proposed. The canton of Valais, lying between the lake of Geneva and Italy, hesitated in its measures, and professed neutrality. A paper was placed on the altar of one of its churches. In this the Reformers of Zurich and Berne were charged with having preached, that to hear mass was a more heinous crime than to commit the most unnatural and beastly sin. The Valaisans read with amazement and religious horror this malicious allegation, the contrivance of a Popish fanatic, and immediately united with the Waldstettes. The Papal cause had already triumphed in the canton of Sol-eure. The forest cantons now resolved to carry out their measures with firmness.

Nothing could now avert a civil war but an immediate adjustment of the differences which had divided the members of the confederacy. Berne proffered its mediation. Schaffhausen and St. Gall sustained the plan of an intercession by those cantons which had yet maintained a posture of comparative neutrality. But new causes of discontent and of alarm arose. Recent events of an exciting character convinced Zwingle and the Zurichers that there was a secret conspiracy of the Waldstettes to suppress the Reformation. " We must waver no longer," said Zwingle ; " the rupture of the alliance on the part of the five cantons, and the unheard of insults with which they load us, impose upon us the obligation of marching against our enemies, before the emperor, who is still detained by the Turks, shall have expelled the landgrave, seized upon Strasburg, and subjugated even ourselves." A Diet, then assembled at Baden, wavered in its

counsels, and temporized in its measures. It finally adjourned without attempting any thing decisive to arrest the progress of the evil. Zwingli now boldly advocated a dissolution of the general confederacy. The five cantons, less populous than the Reform cantons, and furnishing smaller supplies of men and money, had obtained an undue weight in the deliberations of the Diets, by means of their adherents. Innumerable expedients were suggested for meeting the emergencies of the occasion, without any beneficial results. Perplexity and dismay disconcerted their plans, and nothing was accomplished.

Emissaries were sent from Zurich to the allied cities, who represented the dangers which threatened from the encroachments of the Waldstettes, and called upon them for prompt and decisive action. "Beware," they said; "great dangers are impending over all of us. The emperor and King Ferdinand are making vast preparations; they are about to enter Switzerland with large sums of money, and with a numerous army." Zurich was resolved to sustain the Reformation; and in those bailiwicks in which it possessed concurrent jurisdiction with the Popish cantons, its powers were promptly exercised in promoting the preaching of the Gospel. This brought those discordant cantons into angry controversies, and embittered their mutual feelings of animosity.

In the month of May, a Diet convened at Arau, the capital of the canton of Aargau, about eight leagues west of Zurich. The question of a new Helvetic confederacy, to be modelled with respect to the religious differences prevailing in Switzerland, was discussed, and finally disposed of without decision. Various considerations influenced their deliberations, and defeated the project of an alliance of the Reformed cantons, distinct from those maintaining the Romish faith. It was admitted that the latter had violated the terms of their federal compact; and that the intervention of an armed force to redress their grievances and to punish the violators of the public peace, would be justifiable, perhaps politic; but the danger of foreign auxiliaries being called in, determined the Diet to dispense with the means of coercion, and to resort to a less violent expedient, which might be more safe and more effectual. They accordingly resolved, that all commercial relations between the Reformed and the forest cantons should be suspended; and that all articles of

trade, even those comprising the necessities of life, should be withheld from the latter. This measure was, in fact, a rigid blockade of those cantons, and deprived them of the means of subsistence. The Waldstettes were soon reduced to want, and driven to despair. "Will you refuse," they said to their confederates, "to supply us with the food necessary for the nourishment of the body and the support of life?" "It is more cruel," was the reply, "to deny the spiritual food of the soul—to forbid the preaching of the word of God."

Francis, moved by a selfish policy, offered his mediation. The Zurichers readily assented to a reconciliation, on the condition that the free preaching of the Gospel would be permitted by the forest cantons. The commissioners of the King of France conveyed to the Waldstettes the terms of pacification. "We will never," they exclaimed, "permit the preaching of the word of God, as the people of Zurich understand it."

Another effort to effect a reconciliation was made by convoking a Diet at Bremgarten on the Reuss, in Aargau. Deputies from France, Milan, Neuchâtel, the Grisons, Valais, the District of Sargans, and Thurgovia, attended. The restrictions on trade were voluntarily relaxed. Commercial communications were connived at, but not openly permitted. Measures were adopted which might soothe the irritated feelings of the Waldstettes. They refused, however, to commence a negotiation until the blockade was entirely removed. Berne and Zurich refuse to accede to this, unless a guaranty was previously given, "that the Gospel might be freely preached, not only in the common bailiwicks, but also in the five cantons." But these were inexorable. Their own citizens, who were discovered with the publications of Reformers, were punished with severity, by imprisonment and torture. They were told that these infringements of the rights of conscience were positive violations on their part of the treaty of pacification. The conferences were at length terminated by a declaration of the Waldstettes—"that they would maintain evangelical truth, as it had been taught by the Redeemer, by his holy apostles, by the four doctors, and by their holy mother, the Church."

Although by whose influence the coercive measures of the Romanist party were directed, undoubtedly transcended the limits of his profession, and disregarded the precepts of his

religion. Throughout this controversy his counsels were those of force. He would have compelled his enemies to respect the rights of conscience by an appeal to arms. His purpose was not, however, to exercise this force in the extirpation of Popery—as the Spanish conquerors in America were at the very time employing the rack, the scourge, and the fagot, to convert the Indians from pagan to Papal superstitions—it was to establish and to secure, in each canton of the confederacy, the privilege, to every citizen of the republic, of hearing the word of God, and of receiving, through the preaching of that word, and the perusal of the Holy Scriptures, the light of divine truth. In a federal union, based upon the principles of equal rights and of religious freedom, similar to that of our own country, the arm of the government would undoubtedly and justly interpose, were any one of the States to attempt an establishment of religion by law, or an enforcement of any prohibitory measures in the free exercise thereof. The Constitution of the United States has recognized this right of interference by the authorities under the government, and “the citizens of each State are entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.” Had this wise and equitable provision for the religious liberty of the citizen been engrafted on the political institutions of Switzerland, there would have been, in the general Diet of the League, a constitutional power to compel the forest cantons to desist from the persecution of their citizens on account of their religious opinions. Zwingli designed for Switzerland what the Constitution of our own government has wisely guaranteed—the security, to each member of the confederacy, and to each citizen of the country, of an entire freedom of divine worship, and of protection from persecution for conscience’ sake. Each canton, however, was sovereign within itself, as to all matters strictly domestic and municipal; the measures of Zwingli were therefore infringements of the sovereign rights appertaining to those cantons. As a minister of the Gospel, he erred, in advising a forcible interference with the internal regulations of those cantons, however unjust and oppressive, and however contrary to the spirit of Christianity, they might have been. The correction of the evil was a matter of strictly a temporal, and not of a spiritual concern. He drew the sword, and perished by the sword.

On the 23d of August, the Diet at Bremgarten adjourned;

and nothing had been done to allay the popular irritation, or to remove the causes of dissatisfaction. The forest cantons received an accession of strength, from the indecision and the indiscreet measures of their opponents. The Zurichers relaxed in their zeal ; and Zwingli discovered, but too late, that his influence as a minister of the Gospel of peace no longer existed, when he assumed the character of the statesman, and became the zealous advocate of a social war. At this period of hopelessness and despondency, he tendered his resignation of the pastoral charge. The council received it with sorrow of heart, and implored him to resume his office. He asked for time ; and at length appearing before the council, he said, "I will stay with you, and I will labor for the public safety until death !"

While the Reformers were thus gloomy and dispirited, the Waldstettes became more imperious in their tone. They had rejected indignantly every overture. They had driven out of their territories all who professed the new faith. These they refused to recall. "We will not," they said, "abandon the religion of our fathers ; and if we must see our wives and our children deprived of food, our hands will know how to conquer what is refused to us ; to that we pledge our bodies, our goods, our lives."

In the beginning of the month of October, the five cantons assembled in a Diet at Lucerne. The Pope's nuncio was present, and announced the arrival of troops, mercenaries of Rome, who were sent into Switzerland as their auxiliaries. The banners were raised, and they resolved to draw the sword, and to inflict a severe retribution on their enemies. The neutral cantons once more interposed, but their mediation was indignantly rejected. "We would rather die," they said, "than yield the least thing to the prejudice of our faith." The Reformed cantons had persuaded themselves that their differences might yet be reconciled. They imagined no imminent danger, and were unprepared for defence. The envoys of the Waldstettes appeared in Zurich, and demanded letters of perpetual alliance ; and at the same time a messenger arrived, who communicated to the councils the intelligence that the people of Lucerne had planted their banner in the great square, and intended on the following day to march into the bailiwicks. A fatal supineness still stupefied the deliberations of the Zurichers.

In the mean time the soldiers of the five cantons, with their Italian mercenaries, advanced to Baar, within two miles of Zug. On the 11th, at an early hour in the morning, the churches were opened, the bells rung, mass was celebrated, the host was offered up for the sins of the people, and at nine o'clock eight thousand veterans resumed their march. An army of a thousand men, hastily collected to oppose them, were encamped on the heights of Cappel. At one o'clock the Waldstettes fired the first gun as they approached the encampment, and the engagement commenced. The Zurichers maintained their ground with obstinacy, and by the most noble and daring efforts succeeded for a time in repelling their enemies, and driving them back into the defiles of the mountains. "Heretics! sacrilegists! we have you at last," resounded from the Papal army, as it ascended the height. "Man-sellers! idolaters! impious Papists! is it really you?" were re-echoed from the band of Zurichers. The Waldstettes rallied under the cover of the forest, and deploying their forces on the right and left, encompassed their opponents, and pressed them in on every side. The conflict was now desperate, and feats of heroic valor were performed by both. The slaughter was great. Neither party receded, until the Zurichers, borne down and overpowered by the forces of the Waldstettes and their auxiliaries, were prostrated at every point. Five hundred Zurichers perished on the battle-field; and the remnant, seeking safety by flight, were pursued with an envenomed rage, and slaughtered, when overtaken, without mercy.

The ministers of the Gospel were the particular and marked objects of Popish fury. Twenty-five of them were slain in the battle of Cappel. "The Waldstettes," says D'Aubigné, "trembled with rage when they discovered one of these heretical preachers, and sacrificed him with enthusiasm, as a chosen victim, to the Virgin and the saints." Night closed in upon the combatants, but the victors sought not repose until they had satiated their vengeance, by prowling among the dead and the dying, and examining the bodies of all who had fallen beneath their swords. "They turned over the bodies of the wounded and the dead; they tortured and they stripped them. If they found any who were still sensible, they cried out: 'Call upon the saints, and confess to our priests.' If the Zurichers, faithful to their creed, rejected these cruel invitations, these men, who were as cowardly

as they were fanatical, pierced them with their lances, or dashed out their brains with the butt-ends of their arquebuses." "The Roman Catholic historian, Salat, of Lucerne, makes a boast of this," says D'Aubigné, "and states that they were left to die like infidel dogs, or were slain with the sword or the spear, that the might go so much the quicker to the devil, with whose help they had fought so desperately." "If any of the soldiers of the five cantons," continues the historian, "recognized a Zurcher again whom he had any grudge, with dry eyes, disdainful mouth, and features changed by anger, they drew near the unhappy creature, writhing in the agonies of death, and said, 'Well, has your heretical faith preserved you? Ah ha! it was pretty clearly seen to-day who had the true faith. To-day we have dragged your Gospel in the mud; and you too, even you are covered with your own blood. God, the Virgin, and the saints have punished you.' Scarcely were these words uttered before they plunged their swords into their enemy's bosom. *Mass or death!* was the watchword."

Among the dying and the dead Zwingli was discovered. He was not at first recognized. A soldier approached him: "Do you wish for a priest to confess yourself?" he inquired of the Reformer. "Think, then, in thy heart of the mother of God, and call upon the saints," said the soldier, "if you cannot speak." Zwingli signified his dissent by the motion of his head. "No doubt," said the soldier, and at the same time cursing him, "you are one of the heretics of the city!" By the light of the torch his features were recognized. At the moment, the veteran pensioner, Fockinger, of Underwalden, approached. "Zwingli," he exclaimed, "that vile heretic, Zwingli! that rascal, that traitor! With his sword he struck the dying pastor of Zurich on the throat, exclaiming, in a violent passion, 'Die, obstinate heretic!' On the following day the body of Zwingli was tried, and condemned 'to be quartered, for treason against the confederation and then burned, for heresy.'" "The executioner of Lucerne carried out the sentence. Flames consumed the disjointed members; the ashes of swine were mingled with them; and a lawless multitude rushing upon the remains, flung them to the four winds of heaven." Such was the end of Zwingli—the light of the sixteenth century.

The battle of Cappel was fought at the close of the day—

Wednesday, the 11th of October, in the year 1531 : a day never to be forgotten by the admirers of Zwingli, and the friends of Gospel truth. On that day the religious liberties of Switzerland received a fatal blow, of which it has never yet recovered. The devastation and slaughter of that sanguinary battle aroused the populace of Zurich to the highest pitch of indignation and fury. Their anger was first directed against the members of the council, by whose dilatoriness and indecision they said these heavy calamities were brought upon the city. The surviving ministers of the Gospel became next the objects of their fury ; and they at length sunk into a deep and silent gloom. Such were the various and changing feelings by which they were agitated. Their misfortunes recurred to their recollections after the first impulse of their excited passions subsided, and their spirits gave way to despondency and grief. Then suddenly they resolved upon a fearful retaliation on their enemies.

Troops were levied. The martial spirit now pervaded those cantons which but a few days before reposed in stupor, while the desolating scourge was sweeping over the land. Twenty-four thousand men assembled at Bremgarten. An indifference again paralyzed their efforts. Berne refused to engage in active warfare. Four thousand men of Zurich, Schaffhausen, Basle and St. Gall marched against the army of the forest cantons, drove in their outposts, and encamped on a height in their vicinity. That night the Waldstettes, leaving their entrenchments, made a sudden attack upon the confederates. With "Mary, the mother of God !" as their watch-word, they entered their encampment, sword in hand, slew seven hundred men, and dispersed their army.

The Reformation seemed now prostrated and irrecoverably lost in Switzerland. Two thousand Italian troops, the contingent of the pontiff, reinforced the victorious army of the forest cantons. Ferdinand of Austria, elated by this triumph of Popery, called upon the emperor in the fervor of his religious zeal to complete the conquest with his imperial forces. If Switzerland could be again reduced to the Papal dominion, and heresy be banished from its territories, Germany must abandon the cause of the Reformation, and all Christendom would submit to the authority of the Holy See. Such at least were the cherished anticipations of the Papists.

The Waldstettes advanced to the lake of Zurich, and received from its citizens proposals of a negotiation. They agreed to leave the five cantons, and all their adherents, lay and ecclesiastical, in the undisturbed enjoyment of their ancient faith. The same concession was made to Zurich. Certain towns, and the common bailiwicks were abandoned to the five cantons. These were immediately compelled to resume the Popish worship. The mass, the altars, the images, were every where restored. In some of them the tribunals were abolished, their ancient liberties destroyed, and the obnoxious citizens were heavily fined or banished. Rapperswyl, on the lake, and fifteen miles from Zurich, having offended more grievously than its confederates, was suddenly attacked at midnight, contrary to the treaty of pacification, and all who resisted were seized and executed, under circumstances of savage barbarity. In Zurich only could the word of God be preached with safety. These calamities were rendered still more afflicting to the Reformers by the sudden death of *Æcolampadius*. The death of *Zwingle*, and the severe dispensations of the great Head of the Church, by which his people were overwhelmed with sorrow and confusion, sunk deep in the heart of this zealous and faithful servant of Jesus Christ. He died in faith, but in despondency and grief.

NOTE.—To the interesting work of D'Aubigné, recently published, I am indebted for the material facts relating to the Reformation in Germany, France and Switzerland, to the period at which we have now arrived. "The history of the Reformation," says that writer, "is, in my opinion, almost complete in Germany and German Switzerland at the decisive epochs of 1530 and 1531. The work of faith has there attained its apogee; that of conferences, of interims, of diplomacy, begins."

CHAPTER IX.

THE sanguinary persecution of the Waldenses in the southern Provinces of France, which had been renewed in the year 1487 by the bull of Pope Innocent VIII., and continued without intermission until the beginning of this century, was happily suspended by a concurrence of circumstances which arrested for a time the sword of the destroyer. "This abominable and pernicious sect of malignant men, called the Poor of Lyons," said the pontiff, in his apostolic letter to Albert de Capitaneis, Archdeacon of Cremona, "who have long endeavored in Piedmont and other places, having damnably risen up under a feigned pretence of holiness, to ensnare the sheep belonging to God, to the perdition of their souls, we are determined to root up and extirpate." Albert was therefore called upon, by his Holiness, to take upon him with a devout mind the burden of so meritorious a work, and with the inquisitor, the ordinaries of the place, their vicars, &c., to rise up in arms against them, and by a joint communication of processes, to tread them under foot as venomous adders, that he may not only obtain the crown of glory which is bestowed as a reward on those that prosecute pious causes, but that he may also ensure the approbation of his said Holiness and of the Apostolic See.

The attention of Rome was not long after directed to those political struggles which convulsed all Europe, and to other and more formidable heresies which sprung up in Germany, France and Switzerland. But that after-growth of the ancient Vaudois opinions, whose roots were extended in the beginning of the sixteenth century throughout the provinces of Dauphiny, Provence, Languedoc, Gascony, Guienne, Saintonge, Limousin, Auvergne, and Lyonois, as well as along the base of the Pyrenees and of the Alps, and in the mountain regions of the Cevennes,

had not been extirpated by the cruel instruments of Popish bigotry and intolerance. George Morel, a pastor of the Church of the Waldenses, in his memoirs of the history of those churches, estimated their number in the year 1530 at eight hundred thousand. We have the corroborating testimony of Sleidan, another contemporary historian of the Christian Church, as to the existence of this ancient sect in France in this century. "In Provence," he says, "there are a people called Waldenses, who, by an ancient custom, acknowledge not the Pope of Rome, having always professed a greater purity of doctrine; and, since Luther appeared, eagerly thirsted after knowledge. Many times had they been complained of to the king, as despisers of magistrates and fomenters of rebellion, which envious, rather than true accusation, is by most made use of at this day. They live together in some towns and villages, among which is Merindole. About five years since, (1540,) sentence was pronounced against them in the Parliament of Aix, the chief judicature of the province, that they shall all promiscuously be destroyed, that their houses shall be pulled down, the villages levelled with the ground, all the trees also cut down, and the place rendered a desert. Though this sentence was pronounced, yet it was not then put in execution, William du Bellay, of Langey, the king's lieutenant in Piedmont, with some others, having represented the matter to the king as a case that ought to be reviewed by himself." Henry Bullinger, a Swiss Reformer, who succeeded Zwingli in 1531, and was pastor of the church in Zurich forty years, in the preface to his sermons on the book of the Revelation, remarks: "What shall we say, that for four hundred years and more, in France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Bohemia, and other countries throughout the world, the Waldenses have sustained their profession of the Gospel of Christ; and in several of their writings, as well as by continual preaching, they have accused the Pope as the real Antichrist foretold by the Apostle John, and whom, therefore, we ought to avoid. These people have undergone divers and cruel torments, yet have they constantly and openly given testimony to their faith by glorious martyrdoms, and still do so even to this day. Although it has often been attempted by the most powerful kings and princes, instigated by the Pope, it hath been found impossible to extirpate them, for God hath frustrated their efforts."

As regards the purity of their doctrines at the period to which we refer, there are numerous and incontestable evidences of their identity with those maintained by Luther, Farel and Zwingle. In the year 1530, Ecolampadius addressed an epistle to those in Provence through their pastor, Morel, in which he expressed his gratification in hearing "the nature of their faith and religious profession, and in what terms they declared it." "We thank our most merciful Father," he said, "who hath called you to so great a light in this age, amidst the dark clouds of ignorance which have spread themselves over the world, and notwithstanding the extravagant power of Antichrist. Wherefore we acknowledge that Christ is in you: for which cause we love you as brethren." "The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ hath imparted to you an excellent knowledge of the truth, beyond that of many other people, and hath blessed you with spiritual blessings." In the year 1533, Luther published the confessions of the Waldenses, to which he wrote a preface. "In that he candidly acknowledges that, in the days of his Popery, he had hated the Waldenses, as persons who were consigned over to perdition. But having understood from their confessions and writings the piety of their faith, he perceived that those good men had been greatly wronged whom the Pope had condemned as heretics; for that, on the contrary, they were rather entitled to the praise due to holy martyrs. He adds, that among them he had found one thing worthy of admiration, a thing unheard of in the Popish Church: that, laying aside the doctrines of men, they meditated in the law of God day and night; and that they were expert, and even well versed in the knowledge of the Scriptures; whereas, in the Papacy, those who were called masters wholly neglected the Scriptures, and some of them had not so much as seen the Bible at any time. Having read the Waldensian confessions, he said, he returned thanks to God for the great light which it had pleased him to bestow upon that people; rejoicing, that all cause of suspicion being removed which had existed between them and the Reformed, they were now brought together into one sheep-fold under the Chief Shepherd and Bishop of souls."*

Theodore Beza, the colleague of Calvin in 1560, and in 1564

* Jones—as taken from Morland's Hist.

his successor in his offices and influence, and considered as the head of the Calvinistic Church of Geneva, in its palmiest days of orthodoxy, says of the Waldenses—"I may be permitted to call them the very seed of the primitive and purer Christian Church, since they are those that have been upheld, as is abundantly manifest, by the wonderful providence of God; so that neither those endless storms and tempests by which the whole Christian world has been shaken for so many succeeding ages, and the western parts at length so miserably oppressed by the Bishop of Rome, falsely so called, nor those horrible persecutions which have been expressly raised against them, were ever able so far to prevail as to make them bend, or yield a voluntary subjection to the Roman tyranny and idolatry." "The Waldenses, time out of mind, have opposed the abuses of the Church of Rome, and have been persecuted after such a manner—not by the sword of the word of God, but by every species of cruelty, added to a million of calumnies and false accusations—that they have been compelled to disperse themselves wherever they could, wandering through the deserts like wild beasts. As to their religion, they never adhered to Papal superstitions, for which reason they have been continually harassed by the bishops and inquisitors abusing the arm of secular justice, so that their continuance to the present time is evidently miraculous." As an additional testimony of the evangelical faith of the Waldenses, I shall insert a confession which was drawn up by them in 1544, after the Parliament of Aix had pronounced a sentence of condemnation against them, and which they presented to the King of France.

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH OF THE WALDENSES, IN 1544.

1st. We believe that there is but one God, who is a Spirit—the Creator of all things—the Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all; who is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth—upon whom we are continually dependent, and to whom we ascribe praise for our life, food, raiment, health, sickness, prosperity, and adversity. We love him as the source of all goodness, and reverence him as that sublime being who searches the reins and trieth the hearts of the children of men.

2d. We believe that Jesus Christ is the Son and image of the Father—that in him all the fullness of the Godhead dwells, and

that by him alone we know the Father. He is our Mediator and Advocate; nor is there any other name given under Heaven by which we can be saved. In his name alone we call upon the Father, using no other prayers than those contained in the Holy Scriptures, or such as are in substance agreeable thereto.

3d. We believe in the Holy Spirit as the Comforter, proceeding from the Father, and from the Son; by whose inspiration we are taught to pray; being by him renewed in the spirit of our minds; who creates us anew unto good works, and from whom we receive the knowledge of the truth.

4th. We believe there is one Holy Church, comprising the whole assembly of the elect and faithful that have existed from the beginning of the world, or that shall be to the end thereof. Of this Church the Lord Jesus Christ is the Head; it is governed by his word and guided by the Holy Spirit. In the Church it behooves all Christians to have fellowship. For her Christ prays incessantly, and this prayer for it is most acceptable to God, without which, indeed, there could be no salvation.

5th. We hold that the Ministers of the Church ought to be unblameable both in life and doctrine, and if found otherwise, that they ought to be deposed from their office, and others substituted in their stead; and that no person ought to presume to take that honor unto himself but he who is called of God as was Aaron; that the duties of such are to feed the flock of God, not for filthy lucre's sake, or as having dominion over God's heritage, but as being examples to the flock, in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, and in chastity.

6th. We acknowledge that kings, princes and governors, are the appointed and established ministers of God, whom we are bound to obey (in all lawful and civil concerns), for they bear the sword for the defence of the innocent, and the punishment of evil-doers; for which reason we are bound to honor and pay them tribute. From this power and authority no man can exempt himself, as is manifest from the example of the Lord Jesus Christ, who voluntarily paid tribute, not taking upon himself any jurisdiction of temporal power.

7th. We believe that in the ordinance of Baptism the water is the visible and external sign, which represents to us that which, by virtue of God's invisible operation, is within us, name-

ly, the renovation of our minds and the mortification of our members through (the faith of) Jesus Christ. And by this ordinance we are received into the holy congregation of God's people, previously professing and declaring our faith and change of life.

8th. We hold that the Lord's Supper is a commemoration of, and thanksgiving for, the benefits which we have received by his sufferings and death, and that it is to be received in faith and love, examining ourselves, that so we may eat of that bread and drink of that cup, as it is written in the Holy Scriptures.

9th. We maintain that marriage was instituted of God, that it is holy and honorable, and ought to be forbidden to none, provided there be no obstacle from the divine word.

10th. We contend, that all those in whom the fear of God dwells will thereby be led to please him, and to abound with the good works (of the Gospel) which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them, which are love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, gentleness, sobriety, and the other good works enforced in the Holy Scriptures.

11th. On the other hand, we confess that we consider it to be our duty to beware of false teachers, whose object is to divert the minds of men from the true worship of God, and to lead them to place their confidence in the creature, as well as to depart from the good works of the Gospel, and to regard the inventions of men.

12th. We take the Old and the New Testament for the rule of our life, and we agree with the general Confession of Faith contained in (what is usually termed) the Apostles' Creed."*

The identity of the Waldensian Faith with that of the Swiss and German Reformers is incontestably established, as well by Papal as by Protestant writers of the sixteenth century; and, subsequently, Lindanus, Bishop of Ghent, who wrote in defence of the tenets of the Church of Rome about the year 1550, terms Calvin "the inheritor of the doctrine of the Waldenses." Mezeray, the celebrated historiographer of France, speaking of the Waldenses, remarks that "they held nearly the same opinions as those who are now called Calvinists." Gualtier, a Jesuitical monk, drew up a catalogue of twenty-seven articles (in his

* Jones—from Perrin's History.

Chronological Tables,) in which the principles of the Waldenses and those of the Calvinists coincided with each other. Eckius reproached Luther, "that he only renewed the heresies of the Waldenses and Albigenses, of Wickcliffe and of Huss, which had long before been condemned."*

As the doctrines of evangelical faith were maintained by the Waldenses for many centuries before the appearance of Luther and Calvin, so were they more entirely exempt from all traces of Popish superstition than were the tenets of those leading Reformers of the sixteenth century. The views of Luther have been fully given. Calvin's opinion of the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist was not expressed with sufficient clearness and precision to convey to the mind a distinct understanding of his belief. As Luther maintained a *corporeal presence* of Christ in the consecrated wafer; and Zwingle, that the rite was nothing more than a spiritual communion, or a commemoration of the last supper, and a thanksgiving for the benefits received by the sufferings and death of the Saviour, as expressed in the eighth article of the Confession of the Waldenses; Calvin seems to have occupied a neutral ground, and to have compromised the two extremes. His doctrine is that of the *real presence*, explained by very refined distinctions however, and not so intelligible as to have precluded all differences of opinion as regards their import. He believed that as in the mystery of the supper by the symbols of the bread and wine Christ is *truly exhibited to us*, (*vere nobis exhiberi*,) much more, or rather (*adeoque*) his body and blood, in which he fulfilled all obedience for providing a righteousness for us; by which, indeed, we first become united with him in one body, and then, being made partakers of *his substance*, we also discern its excellency in the communication of every blessing. This true exhibition (or real presence) of the body and blood of Christ, is discernible only by the eye of faith; and the supernatural influence of this glorified body, thus partaken of in the supper, is felt by spiritual believers, who alone are benefited and strengthened thereby.† The Vaudois, four hundred years before the age of

* Jones' Church History.

† "Dico igitur in cena mysterio per symbola panis et vini Christum vere nobis exhiberi, adeoque corpus et sanguinem ejus, in quibus omnem obedientiam

Calvin and Luther, had explained this mystery by declaring the consecrated elements simply "the visible emblems of invisible blessings;" and the Waldenses of the sixteenth century believed that "they are to be received in faith and love, so that the bread and wine may be eaten and drank as it is written in the Holy Scriptures." A true and scriptural solution, without sophistry or mysticism.

In the year 1530 the severity of persecution had driven some of the Waldenses to a feigned renunciation of their faith, and a compliance with the outward forms of the Romish worship. This defection occurred more particularly in Provence, and became the subject of a correspondence between the pastors of that province and *Æcolampadius*. They visited the churches in Dauphiny, and had personal interviews with Martin Bucer in Strasburg, and Richard Haller in Berne. In their letter to *Æcolampadius* they say: "We poor instructors of this small people have sustained, for above these four hundred years, most severe and cruel persecutions, not without signal marks of Christ's favor, as all the faithful can testify; for he has often interposed for the deliverance of his people, when under the harrow of these cruel and severe persecutions; and we now come unto you for advice and consolation in this our state of distress." This epistle was signed by George Morel and Peter Burgoina. The professors of theology at Basle, addressed them in his reply, as "his well-beloved brethren in Christ, called Waldenses;" wishing to them the grace of God, through Jesus Christ his Son, and the Holy Spirit. "We understand," he said, "that the fear of persecution hath caused you to conceal and dissemble your faith. Now, with the heart we believe unto

pro comparanda nobis justitia adimplevit: quo scilicet primum in unum corpus cum ipso coalescamus; deinde participes substantiæ ejus facti, in bonorum omnium communicatione virtutem quoque sentiamus. (Instit. Lib. iv., cap. 17.)

Calvin, in explaining his views, remarks: "I assert that the body of Christ is really—that is, truly—given to us in the sacrament, to be the saving food for our souls; the Son of God offers daily to us in the holy sacrament the same body that he once offered in sacrifice to his Father, that it may be our spiritual food. If any one ask me concerning the manner, I will not be ashamed to confess that it is a secret too high for my reason to comprehend, or my tongue to express." These early Reformers had been Papists, and hence the obscurity which clouded their understandings.

righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. But those who are afraid to confess Christ before the world, shall find no acceptance with God the Father; for our God is truth, without any dissimulation; and as he is a jealous God, he cannot endure that any of his servants should take upon them the yoke of Antichrist. For there is no fellowship or communion between Christ and Belial; and if you communicate with infidels, by going to their abominable masses, you will there hear blasphemies against the death and sufferings of Christ. When they boast, that by means of such sacrifices they make satisfaction to God for the sins of both the living and the dead; what naturally follows from thence, but that Christ, by his death, hath not made sufficient expiation and satisfaction, and consequently that Christ is not Jesus; that is, not a Saviour, and that he died for us in vain?" He exhorts them to withdraw from all communion with the Church of Rome; to maintain their ancient faith; and not to permit the afflictions of this world to estrange them from Christ: and tells them that zeal and ardor in the time of persecution, are evidences of the truth and sincerity of their faith.*

In the year 1535 there was a procession in Paris, for the public expiation of offences against the Holy Sacrament. It was in this year that Francis addressed a letter to Melancthon, inviting him to France. He styles him, his beloved Philip Melancthon. "I wish you," he said, "to come the very first opportunity, and fully confer with some of our most eminent doctors on the reconciliation of opinions, and on other things susceptible of improvement in the government of the Church, for which I feel the greatest solicitude and anxiety." "Your visit will be most grateful to me, and you are at perfect liberty to come either in a private or public character; and be assured, you will find me, as indeed I always have been, most desirous of promoting your glory, reputation, and comfort, both at home and abroad." Cardinal Bellaius also addressed a letter to Melancthon, uniting his entreaties with those of the king; "Apply the utmost of your power, my dear Melancthon," he

* The Waldenses, in the south of France, appear not to have been blended with the Reformers in the north until about the middle of this century. In 1560 they were all called *Huguenots*.

said, "by the help of God, to promote this general pacification, and you will have the concurrent approbation of all good men; especially of Francis, who, while possessing the supreme authority, is not only the *most Christian King* in name and title, but in truth, as I have long had occasion to witness." The cardinal concluded his ardent solicitations with—"Yours, *from my very heart*." When these several letters were addressed to Melancthon, the smoking embers of six autos da fé, in the most public places in Paris, were yet living witnesses of the excruciating tortures inflicted upon six and thirty Reformers, in the presence of this *most Christian King, in name, title and truth*.*

"The procession for public expiation of offences against the holy sacrament," says the historian Savagner,† "issued from the church of St. Germain, bearing the bodies and the relics of all the martyrs preserved in the sanctuaries of Paris: amongst the rest, the beard of St. Louis, and those relics from the holy chapel which had not been exposed since his death. There were many cardinals, bishops, abbots, and other prelates; all the secular colleges—the Bishop of Paris bearing the holy sacrament—then followed the king, uncovered, holding the wax candle in his hand; and after him the queen, the princes, the two hundred gentlemen of the court, all the guard, the Parliament, the masters of requests, and all the bench of justice, then the ambassadors of foreign States and princes.

"The procession passed slowly through all the quarters of the city; and, in the six principal places, an altar for the holy sacrament, a scaffold, and a funeral pile, had been previously prepared. At each of these spots six persons were burned alive! amidst immense outcries from the populace, which was so excited, that it attempted to wrest the victims from the executioner, in order to tear them in pieces. The king had ordered those unhappy persons to be tied to an elevated machine, a kind of beam so balanced, that, as it was let down, they were plunged into the flames of the pile, but lifted up again, so as to prolong their

* Francis instituted a tribunal for the trial and burning of heretics, which was entitled the "*Chambre Ardente*;" and for this act of faith was esteemed a worthy son of the Church by the *ghostly fathers* who occupied the chair of St. Peter.

† Quoted by Lorimer in his History of the French Protestant Church.

gonies; and this repeated, until the cords which bound them being consumed, they fell into the fire. It was so arranged, that the operations of this frightful see-saw should be complete, and the victims fall immediately after the procession and the king reached each station. And then the king, handing his candle to the Cardinal of Lorraine, joined his hands, and humbly prostrating himself, implored the Divine mercy on his people, until the victims perished in their horrible tortures. The procession then advanced, finally stopping at the church of St. Genevieve, where the sacrament was deposited on the altar, and mass said. After which, the king and the princes dined with the bishop of Paris, Jean du Bellaius."

At the time these persecutions raged in France, the celebrated John Calvin fled to the court of Ferrara, Italy, under the assumed name of Charles Hèppeville. He was a native of Noyon in Picardy, and was born in the year 1509. He was educated in Paris at the College de la Marche. His father having designed to initiate him into holy orders procured for him, when only twenty years of age, the rectory of Pont l'Evêque, at Noyon. Calvin, however, directed his attention to the civil law, and received his instruction at Orleans, under the celebrated civilian, Pierre de l'Etoile. His first literary effort was made in the year 1533 when, at the age of twenty-four, he published his commentary on Seneca's Treatise on Clemency. Having been soon after suspected of heretical opinions he retired to Basle. Returning to Xaintonge, he engaged in theological studies. About this time his acquaintance with Jacques le Fevre d'Etaples commenced. In the following year a cruel persecution was raised against the Reformers in Paris, in consequence of placards, reflecting on the doctrines, rites, and clergy of the Popish Church, having been posted on the gates of the Louvre, and in other public places in the city. The celebrated French poet, Clement Marot, John Calvin, and many other distinguished men of that party, fled from France, and sought a refuge in Ferrara at the court of the Duchess Renata, daughter of Louis XII. It was at this period that Calvin may be said to have commenced his distinguished career as the leading theologian of the age, by the publication of his celebrated work, entitled the *Christian Institutes*; which he dedicated to the King of France. In the year 1536, he visited Geneva, and was there introduced to the bold

and indefatigable Reformer, William Farel, to Pierre Viret, and many others then engaged in the work of the Reformation in Switzerland ; and here he commenced the arduous duties of a Reformed Christian minister in the consistory. His strict morality, his unsparing censures of the vices of the Popish ecclesiastics, his uncompromising opposition to the absurd and superstitious rites of the Church, and his zealous preaching of the Gospel, excited the bitter enmity of the Papal clergy, and he was, with Farel and Viret, expelled from the city. He removed to Strasburg, and there contracted an intimacy with Martin Bucer, a disciple of Zwingle, and pastor of one of the Reformed churches.

Through the influence of Bucer, Calvin was appointed Professor of Theology, and was called to the pastoral charge of a French Church. He there revised his Christian Institutes, and republished an improved edition of that celebrated work. In the spring of 1541, he complied with the frequent solicitations of his friends in Geneva, and returned to that city. His spiritual labors were now greatly enlarged. He assisted in the revision of the ecclesiastical laws ; new-modelled the ordinances of the Church ; prepared a catechism for the religious instruction of his congregation ; published a commentary on the Epistle to Titus, which he dedicated to Viret and Farel ; delivered lectures on theology ; preached almost daily in the churches ; presided at ecclesiastical assemblies ; and defended the truths of the Gospel by innumerable publications, which were received as standard works in defence of the faith. In the year 1543, he composed a *Liturgy* for the Church of Geneva. He established a seminary for the literary and religious instruction of the Protestant youth, and extended to the persecuted Waldenses who were driven out of France his friendly aid and counsel. "He vindicated in public their cause, and in private relieved their necessities." In 1547, he published his *L'Antidote*, against the doctrines maintained by the Council of Trent ; and *A Warning Letter to the Church of Rouen*, in refutation of the Gnostic and Antinomian treatise by one of the monks. In 1548, he was assisted by Beza, a native of Vezelai, in the Nivernois, who had recently abjured Popery ; and extended his plans and operations of usefulness. Accompanied, in the following year, by Farel, he made a tour through the Reformed cantons of Switzerland, and greatly assisted in

strengthening and confirming the Churches. About the year 1553, Michael Servetus, who had opposed the doctrine of the Trinity, was seized as he passed through Geneva, and condemned to the flames. That his arrest and condemnation were by the instigation of Calvin, seems, from all the evidences of the case, and the concurrent testimony of historians, beyond a doubt. His conduct on that occasion deserves the reprobation of every friend of religious liberty and the right of conscience, and can have no apologists but among Papists, whose principles are those of intolerance and persecution. John Calvin closed his earthly career in 1564. There is a stain on his escutcheon. The meekness and forbearance of the Christian yielded to the impetuous zeal of the controversialist; but God had eminently endowed him with capacities of the highest order; and he was not only the ablest theologian of the age in which he lived, but a fearless and indelible teacher of the divine truths of the Gospel. His writings in exposition of the sacred Scriptures are enduring monuments of his piety and genius. He was the burning and the shining light of the sixteenth century.

In the year 1545, Francis, urged by the earnest solicitations of the Pope's Nuncio, published an edict, which had for its object the total extirpation of heresy within his dominions, but was particularly directed against the Waldenses. It declared, that "every dissident from the *holy mother church* should acknowledge his errors, and obtain reconciliation, within a stated period, under the severest penalties in case of disobedience; and as Merindole was considered the principal seat of the heresy, that devoted city was ordered to be razed to the ground. The edict directed that all the caverns, hiding-places, cellars and vaults in the vicinity of the town should be carefully examined, and destroyed; that the woods should be cut down, and all the gardens and orchards laid waste; and that none who had possessed a house, or any property, in Merindole, or within a certain distance, should ever occupy it again, either in his own person or in that of any of his name or family: that the memory of the excommunicated sect might be utterly obliterated in the province, and the place be made a desert." A sentence had been pronounced against the Waldenses of Provence, in 1540, by the Parliament of Aix, but was suspended through the influence of the President, Chassagnée, who yielded to the entreaties of Nicholas Allens. By his

advice a confession of their faith was drawn up, one copy of which was sent to the king, and another to Cardinal James Sadoleto, Bishop of Carpentras. Although this was satisfactory neither to the president nor to the Parliament, his humanity prompted him to interpose in their behalf. After his death, however, John Meinier, Baron d'Oppede, who succeeded him, assured Francis that the Waldenses had assembled in formidable numbers, with the design of seizing Marseilles; and by Philip Courtine, the Apparitor of the court, he petitioned the king, that the sentence of the Parliament of Aix might be executed. This application was sustained by the Cardinal de Tournon; and Francis accordingly issued an edict, in the month of January, 1545.

Meinier, having received the royal edict, with a refinement of cruelty, retained the authority in secret, and deferred its execution until an opportunity might offer of inflicting upon the devoted but unsuspecting Waldenses the most fatal blow. Under the pretext of levying troops to conduct the war against England, he summoned all who were capable of bearing arms in Aix, Arles, Marseilles, and other populous cities, to appear in the field; and having received a reinforcement of six companies of foot, with a squadron of horse, recently from Piedmont, he immediately commenced his military operations in the province of Avignon. The inhabitants, who received timely notice of his approach, fled toward the mountains; those who were taken were cruelly treated; and the fugitives were pursued with a savage ferocity, after the destruction of their houses and property. The army continued its march into Provence, and there resumed the work of slaughter and devastation.

"Every thing was horrible and cruel," says the historian, De Thou,* "in the sentence, and every thing was still more horrible and cruel in the execution. Twenty-two towns or villages were burned or sacked with an inhumanity, of which the history of the most barbarous people hardly presents examples. The unfortunate inhabitants, surprised during the night, and pursued from rock to rock by the light of the fires which consumed their dwellings, frequently escaped one snare only to fall into another; the pitiful cries of the old men, the women, and the children, far from softening the hearts of the soldiers—mad

* Browning's Hist. of the Huguenots.

with rage like their leaders—only set them on following the fugitives, and pointed out the places whither to direct their fury: voluntary surrender did not exempt the men from execution, nor the women from excesses of brutality which make nature blush. It was forbidden, under pain of death, to afford them any refuge.

“At Cabrières, one of the principal towns of that province, they murdered more than seven hundred men in cold blood; and the women who had remained in their houses were shut up in a barn, filled with straw, to which they set fire: those who attempted to escape by the window were driven back with words and pikes; finally, according to the tenor of the sentence, the houses were razed, the woods cut down, and the fruit trees pulled up; and in a short time, this country, so fertile and populous, became uninhabited and uncultivated.”

From Cabrières the army proceeded to La Coste. Here the habitants, who had prepared for a defence, were assured of lenient treatment if they would surrender without resistance. But the same cruelties were inflicted on the unresisting and defenceless inhabitants. The town was destroyed, and all who were unable to escape were murdered without mercy. The women were first violated, and then treated with such violence and inhumanity, that most of them died either from grief or from torments to which they were subjected. Those who escaped wandered among the mountains, and many of them succeeded in reaching Geneva and the Swiss cantons friendly to the Reformation.

Maimbourg,” says Browning, “in describing this massacre, says, that above three thousand persons were killed, and nine hundred houses were plundered, and then destroyed.” “Justin continues that writer, “was demanded of Francis, immediately after the commission of such atrocities, but the representations of the Parliament of Aix induced him to give a letter of revocation, with orders to continue the prosecution of the living heretics. And it was only the approach of death which induced him to enjoin a scrupulous inquiry upon his son.”

has informed us that “it was in this manner that plunder, rape, and violation, were spread from one end of Provence to the other; Dauphiny and Languedoc experienced nearly the same horrors, and few were the Protestants who were spared,

and fewer those who had the courage to acknowledge that they belonged to the proscribed party." The name of Aymond de la Voye has been recorded as one of those fearless champions of the truth who openly maintained his doctrines, and visited the churches, from village to village, encouraging the desponding and preaching the word of God. He was arrested and cruelly put to death.

Francis, Cardinal de Tournon, Archbishop of Lyons, was the king's principal adviser. The great object of this malignant and inveterate persecutor was the suppression of heresy. It was through his representations that the mind of the king was more embittered toward the Reformers. He appears to have been the master spirit of Popish tyranny and oppression in France. By his orders these miserable and proscribed people were hunted out, and cruelly punished wherever they were found. Men and women were promiscuously committed to the flames. The stake was the instrument of conversion.

The publication of the *Christian Institutes*, in 1534, formed a new epoch in the history of the Reformation, particularly in Switzerland and France. The principles of the dissentients from the Church of Rome had been maliciously misrepresented; even the king himself forgot his dignified station, and contributed his portion of calumny and invectives. This work of Calvin is an embodiment of their religious tenets; it systematized their doctrines, and formed a standard of orthodoxy strictly in accordance with the sacred Scriptures. The *Confession of Faith* drawn up by the Waldenses, in 1544, presented also a faithful exposition of their civil and religious opinions. From these two periods, therefore, we view the Reformation in France as based upon an immutable foundation. The doctrines were still more widely extended, and congregations of the Faith were organized in every province.

The persecution of Reformers* in France may be said never to have ceased from the year 1545. It had indeed been con-

* The French Protestants are mentioned by different historians under a variety of names—as Waldenses, Reformers, French Protestants, Huguenots. The Popish writers, to these appellations, added those of Heretics and Pretenders, but seldom designated them as Protestants. They were sometimes called Calvinists by both parties. Their more ancient titles were, Cathari, Albigenses, Paulicians, &c.

ued from the year 1523, with short intervals of repose. Their religion was never cordially tolerated by the government, and exemptions from persecution and oppression were purchased by sword after the year 1562. History has recorded the cruel execution of five Waldenses in Lyons, in the year 1553. "The executioner, when he had tied them together at the stake, surrounded them with a chain. A cord was then put around each their necks, that they might be strangled at the same time, by means of a machine prepared for the purpose. But the cords were burnt by the fire before they were strangled, and they were to be consumed by the flames."

Francis died in 1547, and was succeeded by his son, Henry II. His consort was the infamous Catharine of Medicis, niece of Pope Clement VII. Henry was not devoid of talents; and though he was less under the influence of his passions than Francis, his deep-rooted enmity to the Reformed religion impelled him to acts of equal atrocity and violence.

During his reign the same system of oppression against the Reformers which marked the character of his predecessor was blindly adhered to; and he emulated the zeal, and imitated the example of his father, by attending in person the executions in Paris. With a singular inconsistency, but from motives of policy, while he pursued his own Protestant subjects with fire and sword, he formed an alliance with the Protestant princes of Germany, and sent his armies to assist them in the defence of their religion. Thus did Providence overrule and control the schemes of the Church by making them the instruments of their own discomfiture and defeat. Had the king united his forces with the emperor, the Reformation, agreeably to all human calculations, must have been prostrated in Germany and in France. We perceive the interposition of the same omnipotent power in France, in the year 1551, when the Cardinal of Lorraine, bitter enemy of the Reformers, obtained the edict of Chateaublanc, which placed them under the protection of the civil authorities—having in view a new political combination, by which the Pope, Julius III., would be defeated in his project to dispossess Octavius Farnese from his duchy of Parma.

The consequences of this edict were favorable to that party. The trial for heresy was removed from the ecclesiastical to the civil courts. "Thirty years had not slackened the fires of

persecution, while the priests were judges of the heretics ; but no sooner was the Parliament of Paris entrusted with the charge, than the Protestants experienced a great improvement in their condition." Under these favorable circumstances the Protestant churches were multiplied, and the numbers of the *new faith* increased in every part of the kingdom. This change, however, was but of short duration ; for the cardinal, having accomplished the political object he had in view, procured another edict, which exposed them again to the malice of the clergy. By this new edict, approved by the king's council, and presented to the Parliament to be registered, the Inquisitor of the Faith in France was authorized to cite all heretics before him, to examine, and to condemn them. This power was soon after extended by him in a well-organized system of espionage, by which he penetrated into the privacy of the domestic circles, and was thus enabled to detect the most secret designs of his enemies.

The enmity which was cherished by the Papists toward the Reformers, was exhibited in 1557, when four hundred of the latter were assembled at a house in the Rue St. Jacques, opposite the College Plessis, to celebrate the Lord's supper. They were not interrupted during the service¹; but when they attempted to retire, they were opposed at the doors by an armed mob, who murdered many of them as they came out, and would have slaughtered those within, had not a magistrate with an armed force interposed, and protected them from the assaults of the populace. A process, however, was soon after issued against them, two hundred of them having been arrested by the soldiery, and imprisoned ; five of them were committed to the flames. The remainder were rescued from the same unhappy fate by the elector-palatine, then in alliance with Henry ; against the remonstrances of Pope Paul IV., who complained to the consistory of this act of clemency.

The war between Henry, and Philip II., king of Spain, was this year renewed. A signal victory was obtained over the French, in the battle of St. Quentin. In this engagement, John, Duke of Enghien, the brother of Anthony, king of Navarre, and of Louis, Prince of Condé, was killed, Montmorency was taken

NOTE.—In the year 1555, a Protestant church was organized and established in Paris, under the superintendence of Ferriere Maligni.

mer, and six hundred gentlemen fell in the field. The Duke of Guise,* to avenge this loss, immediately besieged Calais, which he captured on the 8th of January, 1558, after it had been in the possession of the English above two hundred years. By his, and other exploits, the Duke acquired a reputation as a brave commander, and an influence at court.

The Guises were the bitter enemies of the Reformation. Through their joint influence an edict was published by Henry, suppressing the Inquisition. The Cardinals of Lorraine, of Bourbons, brother of the King of Navarre, and of Chatillon, were appointed inquisitor-generals. They were empowered to inflict capital punishment on all heretics. The severity of this edict was softened by the Parliament, by extending to all laymen the privilege of appealing from this dreaded tribunal. The King, however, issued another edict, in which he prohibited the judges in the civil courts from "commuting the sentence of death and confiscation of property, for any convicted, not only of heresy, but also of having brought into France books printed at Geneva against the Popish religion."

On the 3d of April, 1559, the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis was signed; and peace was restored between France, Spain, and England. By it, Piedmont, which had been taken from Charles III., Duke of Savoy, in 1535, by Francis I., was restored to Emanuel Philibert, who now married Margaret, the daughter of Francis. Elizabeth, daughter of Henry, married Philip II., King of Spain.

In this year the Duke of Ferrara died; and his widow, Renée, daughter of Louis XII., returned to France, and took up her residence in the castle of Montargis. Here she openly declared her attachment to the religious Reformation, and received at her court all who professed its doctrines. Francis, Duke of Guise, had married her daughter, Anne of Este, and

The family of the Guises make a distinguished figure in France after this period. They form a branch of the ancient house of Lorraine. Claudius was made Duke of Guise, by Francis I., in 1527. His children were Francis, the Duke above mentioned, he is sometimes called Prince of Joinville, sometimes, Count d'Aumale; Charles, Archbishop of Rheims and Cardinal of Lorraine; Louis, Cardinal of Guise; Claudius, made Duke of Aumale in 1547; Renée, Duke of Elboeuf; Francis, Grand-Prior; and four daughters: the eldest, married James V. king of Scotland.

being highly incensed that she extended her patronage and protection to the Protestants, he threatened to batter the walls of her castle, "if she would not dismiss the rebels whom she harbored." But she boldly replied to the messenger, "Tell your master, that I shall myself mount the battlements, and see if he dare kill a king's daughter."

At this period the cause of the Reformation appears to have received an extraordinary accession of strength, not only by the increase in the number of those who publicly professed its principles, but by the weight and respectability of many of its new adherents. Had the court adopted a system of toleration and forbearance toward the Reformers, there can be little doubt that they would soon have obtained an ascendancy in the nation. Notwithstanding the persecutions and sufferings they had endured, they were still formidable by their strength, and exhibited an undiminished zeal in the observances of their religion. The Scriptures had been translated into the French language by Olivetan, the uncle of Calvin, and the Psalms of David into French verse by Clement Marot.* The Psalms were set to music, and the melody of the tunes was admired not only by the people, but by the king and court. "This last undertaking" says the author of an historical sketch of the Protestant Church of France,* "was attended with remarkable success. There had been nothing of the same kind before, and so the whole music of the people was perverted to superstitious and sinful purposes. Now, the national genius was enlisted on the side of truth. This holy ordinance charmed the ears, hearts, and affections of court and city, town and country. They were sung in the Louvre, as well as in the Pres des Clerks, by the ladies, princes, yea, and by Henry II. himself. This one ordinance contributed mightily to the downfall of Popery and the propagation of the Gospel. It took so much with the genius of the nation, that all ranks and degrees of men practised it, in the temples, and in their families. No gentleman professing the Reformed religion would sit down at his table without praising God by singing. Yea, it was an especial part of their morning and

* Calvin wrote the preface to Marot's metrical version of the Psalms, and had them set to music by the most distinguished musicians.

* Rev. John G. Lorimer, of Glasgow.

evening worship in their several houses, to sing God's praises. Such offence did this sacred verse and music give to the Popish priests, and so much did they dread its power, that a leading man of their number had the Odes of Horace translated and set to music as a counteractive."

The same writer, having quoted from Quich's account of the popular feeling on the subject referred to, has also adduced his testimony in proof of the flattering prospects which were presented to the Reformed churches at the period of our history. "The word of God," says Quich, "is duly, truly, and powerfully preached in churches and fields, in ships and houses, in vaults and cellars, in all places where the Gospel ministers can have admission and conveniency, and with singular success. Multitudes are convinced and converted, established and edified. Christ rideth out upon the white horse of the ministry, with the sword and bow of the Gospel preached, conquering and to conquer. His enemies fall under him, and submit themselves unto him."*** "The Popish churches are drained, the Protestant temples are filled. The priests complain that their altars are neglected; their masses are now indeed solitary. Dagon cannot stand before God's ark. Children and persons of riper years, are catechised in the rudiments and principles of the Christian religion, and can give a comfortable account of their faith, a reason of that hope that is in them. By this ordinance do their pious pastors prepare them for communion with the Lord at his holy table. Here they communicate in both kinds, according to the primitive institution of the sacrament by Jesus Christ himself."

The students of the university of Paris were favorable to the Reformation, and defended its principles publicly. They had been long accustomed to assemble in the Pres des Clerks—now known as a part of the Faubourg Saint Germain; but the monks of the Abbey St. Victor having attempted to expel them from it, frequent conflicts ensued between the parties, sometimes with bloodshed, until the monks were overpowered by numbers, and relinquished the ground. Here the Protestants met in the summer evenings and sang Marot's French versification of the Psalms. This exercise attracted the attention of many who had never openly avowed the principles of the Reformed religion, and these were insensibly drawn into association with the assembly of singers. Among them were many of the nobility.

Anthony of Bourbon, then King of Navarre by right of his wife Jane of Albret, many members of the Parliament, and, indeed, all classes of persons, attended these meetings. All other places of resort for gay amusements and pleasure were abandoned. The Popish clergy became alarmed, and exerted their influence to prevent meetings which they denounced as seditious and heretical.

The Cardinal Bertrand called upon the Parliament to prohibit those popular assemblies, but the members of that body were equally obnoxious to the charge of sedition and heresy, by having participated in their acts of divine worship. The Cardinal Lorraine proposed to the king a consultation with his counsellors; and that measures should at the same time be adopted, by which their several opinions might be ascertained without exciting their suspicion of his intentions. "Although it should serve for nothing more than to show the King of Spain that you are firm in the faith," said the cardinal, "and that you will not suffer in your kingdom anything whatsoever which may disparage your excellent title of Most Christian King; still you ought to proceed about it boldly and with great courage; you must gratify all these grandees and nobles of Spain, (who have accompanied the Duke of Alva for the solemnity and honor of their king's marriage with your daughter,) by ordering half-a-dozen counsellors of the Parliament to be burned in the public place, as Lutheran heretics, which, indeed, they are. By so doing we shall preserve the body of the Parliament. But if you do not take these measures of precaution, the whole court will be infected and contaminated with it, even to the clerks, attorneys, and tipstaves." This counsel of the cardinal was sustained by the Constable Montmorency, but opposed by Vielleville and others, who represented to the king that, by adopting these measures he would assume to himself the office of an inquisitor of the faith, and the people would be dissatisfied.

The bigotry of Henry determined his conduct, and on the 15th of June he appeared in the Parliament, without having intimated his intentions, accompanied by the Duke of Guise, the Cardinals of Lorraine and of Bourbon, and a crowd of the nobility; and there opened a bed of justice. That body, at the time, was engaged in the deliberation of measures in reference to the Reformers. The king assumed an air of complacency, and

courteously invited the members to express their sentiments without restraint. Deceived by the Jesuitical cunning and well-practised hypocrisy of Henry and his Popish advisers, the counsellors incautiously indulged in merited animadversions on the conduct of those around the throne and in the royal confidence. "Let us begin," said Louis Faur, "by examining who is the real author of our troubles, for fear lest the same answer should be made to us which Elijah formerly made to Ahab; "It is thou that troublest Israel!" and at the same time fixing his eyes intently on the Cardinal of Lorraine. Anne Dubourg expatiated on the cruelties which had been exercised toward the Protestants; and in conclusion, he remarked, "While men are conducted to the stake for the sole crime of praying for their prince, a shameful license encourages and multiplies blasphemies, perjuries, debaucheries, and adulteries." The application of these severe reflections was supposed to be intended for the king, and his mistress, Diana of Poitiers. The president, Lemaître, advocated the most rigid measures against the Reformers, and eulogized the predecessors of Henry, who had been uncompromising against heresies, particularly Philip the Fair, who condemned in one day six hundred heretics to the flames.

Henry, having by this stratagem discovered the secret opinions of the most prominent members of the council, arose, with unsuppressed indignation on his countenance, angrily reprovèd those who had been favorable to the Reformers, and ordered the arrest of Faur, Dubourg, and others, before he withdrew from the council. Orders were immediately issued for their trial, "especially that of Dubourg, whom he was desirous of seeing burned with his own eyes." This prompt and severe measure against those invested with authority and trust under the crown, was but the prelude of an unrelenting persecution against all suspected of, or professing the doctrines of the Reformation. Secret informers were encouraged. Those who countenanced or protected them became equally implicated in their offences; and the prisons were soon crowded with the victims of Popish bigotry and intolerance. But the king, urged on in the natural direction of his own inclinations, by the instruments of the pontiff, determined upon a more extensive plan of operations for the suppression of heresy. Its entire destruction throughout the kingdom was now his settled purpose. But

Providence again interposed for the safety of the Protestants. Before his plans were sufficiently matured for execution, Henry was killed at a tournament on the 29th of June, in a tilt with one of his knights.

The year 1559 forms another epoch in the history of the Reformed Church of France. A General Assembly, consisting of eleven ministers, was secretly held in Paris, and prepared a full and comprehensive confession of their faith. "This," as Lorimer remarks, "was solely the work of the Church; not the work of the State forced upon the Church. Without any concert with other Protestant churches, it remarkably harmonizes with the confessions of all; showing, that under the teaching of God's Spirit, no good men, wherever they may be scattered, and whatever their circumstances of trial, seriously differ in their interpretation of Scripture." "It is a state of ease, and a season of speculation, which lead men to doubt and disagree as to what is truth. Persecution drives to first principles, and when the heart is right, it keeps the head clear and sound." This formula coincides in all its doctrines with that confession of faith professed by the Waldenses four hundred and forty years before; and with that published by them, and presented to Francis I., in the year 1544. Nay more, if we go back to the origin of this Reformed Church, (which seems to have preserved its spirituality through all the intervening ages from that period,) in the middle of the third century, we shall discover the same coincidence most strikingly illustrated. This remarkable fact commanding yet more our wonder and our admiration by the harmony of those doctrines with the Word of God, should confirm our trust in the faithfulness of the great Head of the Church, who graciously promised to be with his disciples always, even unto the end of the world.

As this *confession* embraces all that has been expressed in the several confessions previously drawn up by that Church, and may now be considered as a summary of the articles of religion, or symbol, of the Huguenot or French-Protest Church wherever existing, in its original purity of faith and doctrines, I shall make no apology for inserting such portions of it as seem worthy of historical record.

1st. We believe and confess, that there is but one God only,

whose being is simple, spiritual, eternal, invisible, immutable, infinite, incomprehensible, ineffable—who can do all things, who is all-wise, all-good, most just, and most merciful.

2d. This one God hath revealed himself to be such a one unto man, first, in the creation, preservation, and governing of his works; secondly, far more plainly in his word, which, from the beginning, he revealed to the Fathers by certain visions and oracles, and then caused it to be put in writing in those books which we call the Holy Scriptures.

3d. This article enumerates the several books of the Old and New Testament, which are received by all Protestant churches as canonical.

4th. Declares these books canonical, or certain rules of faith, “not so much because of the common consent of the Church, but because of the testimony and persuasion of the Holy Ghost, by which we are taught to distinguish betwixt them and other ecclesiastical books.”

5th. We believe that the doctrine contained in these books has proceeded from God, from whom only, and not from men, it derived its authority. And forasmuch as it is the rule of all truth, containing all matter necessarily required for the worship of God and our salvation, it is in no wise lawful for men or angels to add unto, or to take from this doctrine, or to change it. And hereupon it followeth, that it is not lawful to oppose either antiquity, or custom, or multitude, or human wisdom, judgments, edicts, or any decrees, or councils, or visions, or miracles, unto this Holy Scripture; but rather, that all things ought to be examined and tried by the rule and square thereof. Wherefore we do for this cause also allow of those three creeds—the Apostles’, the Nicene, and the Athanasian—because they be agreeable to the word of God.

6th. The Holy Scripture teacheth us, that in that one and simple Divine Being there be three persons subsisting—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Father, to wit: the first cause in order, and the beginning of all things; the Son—his wisdom and everlasting word; the Holy Ghost—his virtue, power, and efficacy. The Son, begotten of the Father from everlasting; the Holy Ghost, from everlasting, proceeding from the Father and the Son. These three persons are not confounded, but distinct; and yet not divided, but of one and the same essence,

eternity, power, and equality. And to conclude, in this mystery—we allow of that which those four ancient councils* have determined; and we detest all sects and heresies, condemned by those holy ancient doctors—Athanasius, Hilary, Cyril, and Ambrose.

7th. We believe that God, in three persons, working together by his power, wisdom, and incomprehensible goodness, hath made all things, not only heaven and earth, and all things in them contained, but also the invisible spirits, of which some fell headlong into destruction, and some continued in obedience. That the fallen angels, being corrupted by their malice, are become enemies of all good, and consequently of the whole Church. That the holy angels, having persevered by the grace of God, are ministers to glorify his name, and serve his elect in order to salvation.

8th. We believe that God hath not only made all things, but also ruleth and governeth them, as he who, according to his will, disposeth and ordaineth whatsoever cometh to pass in the world. Yet, we deny that he is the author of sin, or that the blame of things done amiss can be laid upon him, seeing his will is the sovereign and infallible rule of all righteousness and equity; but this we confess, that he hath those admirable means, as whereby he maketh the devils and the ungodly, as his instruments, to serve him, and to turn the evil which they do, and whereof they are guilty, into good. So that when we acknowledge that nothing can be done without the providence of God, we do most humbly adore his secrets, which he hath hidden from us, nor do we inquire into those which are above our reach and capacity. Nay, rather we apply unto our own use that which the Holy Scripture teacheth us for our peace and comfort; to wit: that God, to whom all things are subject, doth watch over us with a fatherly care, so that not so much as an hair of our head falleth to the ground without his will; and that he hath the devils and all our adversaries fast bound in chains, that they cannot, without leave first given them, do us any harm.

9th. We believe that man, being created pure and upright, and conformable to the image of God, through his own fault fell from that grace which he received, and thereby did so estrange

* The Councils of Nice and Constantinople in the fourth century, and those of Ephesus and Chalcedon in the fifth.

himself from God, the fountain of all righteousness and of all good things, that his nature is become altogether defiled ; and being blind in his understanding, and corrupt in his heart, he hath utterly lost that integrity ; and, although he can somewhat discern between good and evil, yet we do affirm, that whatsoever light he hath, it straightway becometh darkness, when the question is of asking after God, so that by his understanding and reason he can never come to God. And although he be indued with will, whereby he is moved to do this or that, yet forasmuch as that also is in bondage to sin, that he hath no freedom to desire that which is good, but if he have any it is the gracious gift of God.

10th. We believe that all the offspring of Adam are infected with the contagion of original sin, which is a vice hereditary to us by propagation, and not by imitation only, as the Pelagians asserted, whose errors are detested by us. Nor do we think it necessary to inquire how this sin cometh to be derived from one unto another ; for it is sufficient that those things which God gave to Adam were not given to him alone, but also to all his posterity ; and therefore we, in his person, being deprived of all those good gifts, are fallen into this poverty and malediction.

11th. We believe that this stain of original sin is sin indeed, for it hath that mischievous power in it as to condemn all mankind, even infants that are unborn—as yet in their mothers' womb—and God himself doth account it such : yea, and that after baptism, as to the filth thereof, it is always sin. Howbeit, they who are the children of God shall never be condemned for it, because that God, of his rich grace and sovereign mercy, doth not impute it to them. Moreover, we say that it is such a depravedness as doth continually produce the fruits of malice and rebellion against God, so that even the choicest of God's saints, although they do resist it, yet are they defiled with very many infirmities and offences, so long as they live in this world.

12th. We believe that out of this general corruption and condemnation, in which all men are plunged, God doth deliver them whom he hath, in his eternal and unchangeable counsel, chosen of his mere goodness and mercy through our Lord Jesus Christ, without any consideration of their works, leaving the rest in their sins and damnable estate, that he may show forth in them his justice, as in the elect he doth most illustriously declare the riches of his mercy. For one is not better than another, until

such time as God doth make the difference, according to his unchangeable purpose, which he hath determined in Jesus Christ before the creation of the world. Nor can any one, by his own power, procure unto himself so great a blessing ; because we cannot by nature, nor of ourselves, excite in ourselves any one good motion, thought, or affection, until such time as God does prevent, and incline us to it by his grace.

13th. We believe that whatsoever is requisite to our salvation, is offered and communicated to us now in the Lord Jesus Christ, who is made of God unto us—wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption ; so that whosoever leaveth Christ doth renounce all interest in, and title to, the mercy of God the Father, to which, as to our only sanctuary, we are bound to have recourse.

14th. We believe that Jesus Christ, being the Wisdom and eternal Son of the Father, took upon him our nature, so that he is one Person—God and man. Man, that he might be able to suffer both in body and soul, made like unto us in all things, sin only excepted ; so that as to his human nature, he was in truth the very seed of Abraham and of David, conceived in due time in the womb of the most blessed Virgin, by the secret and incomprehensible power of the Holy God. And, therefore, we detest, as contrary to that truth, all those heresies with which the churches were troubled in times past ; and, particularly, we detest those diabolical imaginations of Servetus, who ascribed to our Lord Jesus Christ an imaginary Deity, whom he asserted to be the idea and pattern of all things, and the counterfeit or figurative Son of God. In short, he framed him a body, compacted of three elements uncreated, and so did mingle and overthrow his nature.

15th. We believe that in one and the same person, to wit, the Lord Jesus Christ, his two natures are truly and inseparably conjoined and united ; yet, nevertheless, in such a manner, that each nature doth retain its distinct properties. So that even, as in this divine conjunction, the divine nature retaining its properties, doth still abide uncreated, infinite, and filling all places, so also the human nature remaineth finite, having its form, measure and property. And although the Lord Jesus Christ when he rose from the dead, did give immortality unto his body, yet he never deprived it of the verity of its nature. Therefore, we do so consider Christ in his Deity, that we do not spoil him of his humanity.

16th. We do believe that God, by sending his Son into the world, did declare his infinite love and inestimable goodness to us, delivering him over unto death, and raising him again from the dead, that he might fulfill all righteousness, and purchase everlasting life for us.

17th. We believe that by that only sacrifice which Jesus Christ offered upon the cross, we are reconciled unto God, that so we may be held and accounted righteous in his sight, because we can never please him, nor be partakers of his adoption, but so far only as he forgiveth us our sins, and burieth them in his grave. Therefore, we affirm, that Jesus Christ is our entire and perfect washing, and that by his death we obtain full satisfaction, whereby we are delivered from all those sins of which we are guilty, and from which we could never be absolved by any other means or remedy.

18th. We believe that our whole righteousness is founded in the remission of our sins, which is, as David calleth it, our only happiness. Wherefore we do utterly reject all other means by which men do think they may be justified before God; and casting away all conceits of our own virtues and merits, we do altogether rest upon the sole obedience of Jesus Christ, which is imputed to us, as well for the covering of our offences, as that we may find grace and favor with God. And indeed we believe, that should we in the least forsake this foundation, we could not find elsewhere any repose, but must needs be agitated with inquietudes in our consciences, because we are never at peace with God till we be persuaded upon good grounds that we are beloved in Jesus Christ. For that in ourselves we have deserved to be hated by him.

19th. We believe that by this means we have liberty and privilege of calling upon God, with full confidence that he will show himself a Father to us, for we have no access unto the Father but in and through Christ, the Mediator; and that we may be heard in his name, it is meet that we should hold and derive our life from him as from our head.

20th. We believe that we are made partakers of this righteousness by faith only, as it is written, "He suffered to purchase salvation for us, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish." And this is, therefore, done, because the promises of life offered to us in him are then applied to our use, and made ef-

fectual to us, when we do accept of them, and in no wise doubt but that we shall enjoy those things which the Lord by his own mouth hath assured us of. So that the righteousness which we obtain by faith dependeth upon the free gracious promises of God, by which God doth declare and testify unto us that we are beloved of him.

21st. We do believe that by the secret grace of the Holy Ghost, the light of faith is kindled up in us, so that it is a gracious and special gift which God bestoweth upon whom he pleaseth; and the faithful have nothing whereof they may boast, because they are doubly obliged unto God for having preferred them before others, and for that he never gave faith unto the elect once only to bring them into the good way, but also to cause them to continue in it unto the end. For as God doth begin faith, so doth he also finish and perfect it.

22d. We believe that by this faith we are regenerated unto newness of life, we being naturally imbondaged under sin. And we do by faith receive that grace to live holily, and in the fear of God, in our receiving of the promise which is given us through the Gospel, to wit, that God will give us his Holy Spirit. So that faith is so far from freezing our affections to godliness and holy living that, contrariwise, it doth engender and excite it in us, necessarily producing all manner of good works. Finally; although God, to accomplish our salvation, doth regenerate and reform us, that we may do those things which are well-pleasing, yet, notwithstanding, we do confess that the good works which we do by his Spirit are never accounted to us for righteousness, nor can we merit by them that God should take us for his children, because we should be always tossed with doubts and disquiets, if our consciences did not repose themselves upon that satisfaction by which Jesus Christ hath purchased us for himself.

23d. We believe that all the types of the law ended when Christ came in the flesh. But although the ceremonies are no longer in use, yet, nevertheless, the substance and truth of them abideth always in His person who fulfilled them. Moreover, we must be holpen by the law and the prophets for the right ordering of our lives, and that the promises of the Gospel may be confirmed to us.

24th. We believe, that forasmuch as Jesus Christ is conferred upon us to be our alone advocate, and that he commandeth us,

in our private prayers, to present ourselves before the
in his name ; and that it is in no wise lawful for us to call
God in any other way than he hath taught us by his word ;
therefore, all those imaginations of men about the inter-
of saints departed are none other than an abuse and
ure of Satan, whereby he may turn men aside from the
method of prayer. We do also reject those means which
resumed they had, whereby they might be redeemed be-
hod, for they derogate from the satisfaction of the death
ission of Jesus Christ. Finally, we hold purgatory to be
other than a cheat, which came out of the same shop from
also proceeded monastical vows, pilgrimages, prohibitions
riage, and the use of meats, a ceremonious observation of
auricular confession, indulgences, and all other such like
rs, by which grace and salvation may be supposed to be
red. Which things we reject, not only for the false opinion
rit which was affixed to them, but also because they are
ventions of men, and are a yoke laid by their sole authority
conscience.

h. And forasmuch as we are not made partakers of Christ
7 the Gospel, we believe that that good order in the Church,
was established by his authority, ought to be kept sacred
avioable ; and, therefore, that the Church cannot subsist
there be pastors, whose office it is to instruct their flocks,
who having been duly called, and discharging their office
ally, are to be honored and heard with reverence. Not as
d were tied unto such ordinances or inferior means, but
se it is his good pleasure in this sort to govern us. So
or these reasons, we detest all those fanatical persons who,
sch as in them lieth, would totally abolish the preaching the
and administration of the sacraments.

h. Therefore, we believe that it is not lawful for any man
thdraw himself from the congregations of God's saints, and
tent himself with his private devotions, but all of us jointly
ound to keep and maintain the unity of the Church, submit-
hemselves unto the common instruction, and to the yoke of
Christ, and this in all places wheresoever he shall have
lished the true discipline, although the edicts of earthly
strates be contrary thereunto ; and whosoever do separate
this order do resist the ordinance of God, and in case they

draw others aside with them, they do act very perversely, and are to be accounted as mortal plagues.

27th. However, we do believe that we ought to distinguish carefully and prudently betwixt the true and false Church, because the word Church is very much abused. We say, then, according to the word of God, that the Church is an assembly of believers who agree among themselves to follow God's word, and the pure religion which dependeth on it, and who profit by it during their whole life, increasing and confirming themselves in the fear of God, as being persons who do daily need a further progress and advancement in godliness. Yet, notwithstanding all their endeavors, they must have continual recourse to the grace of God for the forgiveness of their sins. Nor do we deny but that among the faithful there be some hypocrites or despisers of God, or ill-livers, whose wickedness, however, cannot blot out the name of the Church.

28th. In this belief we protest that when the word of God is not received, and where there is no professed subjection to it, and where there is no use of the sacraments, if we will speak properly, we cannot judge that there is any Church. Wherefore we condemn those assemblies in the Papacy, because the pure word of God is banished out of them, and for that in them the sacraments are corrupted, counterfeited, falsified, or utterly abolished, and, for that among them, all kinds of superstition and idolatries are in full vogue. We hold, then, that all those who meddle with such actions, and communicate with them, do separate and cut themselves off from the body of Christ Jesus. Yet, nevertheless, because there is yet some small track of a Church in the Papacy, and that baptism, as to its substance, hath been still continued, and because the efficacy of baptism doth not depend upon him who doth administer it, we confess that they which are there baptized do not need a second baptism. In the mean while, because of those corruptions which are mingled with the administration of that sacrament, no man can present his children to be baptized in that Church without polluting of his conscience.

29th. We believe that this true Church ought to be governed by that discipline which our Lord Jesus hath established, so that there should be in the Church, pastors, elders, and deacons, that the pure doctrine may have its course, and vices may be

reformed and suppressed, that the poor, and other afflicted persons, may be succored in their necessities, and that in the name of God there may be holy assemblies in which both great and small may be edified.

30th. We believe that all true pastors, in whatsoever places they may be disposed, have all the same authority, and equal power among themselves under Jesus Christ, the only head, the only sovereign, and only universal bishop; and that therefore it is unlawful for any church to challenge unto itself dominion or sovereignty over another, however it is requisite that all care should be taken for the keeping up of mutual concord and brotherly love.

31st. We believe that it is not lawful for any man of his own authority to take upon himself the government of the Church, but that every one ought to be admitted thereunto by a lawful election, if it may possibly be done, and that the Lord do so permit it. Which exception we have expressly added, because that sometimes (as it hath fallen out in our days) the state of the Church being interrupted, God hath raised up some persons in an extraordinary manner to repair the ruins of the decayed Church. But, let it be what it will, we believe that this rule is always to be followed, that all pastors, elders, and deacons, should have a testimony of their being called unto their respective offices.

32d. We believe that it is expedient that they who be chosen superintendents in the Church should wisely consult among themselves by what means the whole body may conveniently be ruled, yet so as they do not swerve from that which our Lord Jesus Christ hath instituted. And this doth not hinder but that in some churches there may be those particular constitutions which will be more convenient for them than for others.

33d. But we exclude all human inventions and all those laws which are introduced to bind the conscience under pretence of God's service. And we do only receive such as serve to keep up concord, and to retain every one, from the highest unto the lowest, in due obedience. In which we conceive that we are to observe that which our Lord Jesus Christ appointed concerning excommunication, which we do very well approve and acknowledge the necessity thereof, and of its appendages.

34th. We believe that the sacraments are adjoined unto the

word for its more ample confirmation, to wit : that they may be pledges and tokens of the grace of God, and that by these means our faith, which is very weak and ignorant, may be supported and comforted. For we confess that these outward signs be such that God, by the power of his Holy Spirit, doth work by them, that nothing may be there represented to us in vain. Yet, nevertheless, we hold that all their substance and virtue is in Jesus Christ, from whom, if they be separated, they be nothing else but shadows and smoke.

35th. We acknowledge that there be two sacraments only, which are common to the whole Church, whereof Baptism is the first, which is administered to us to testify our adoption, because we are by it ingrafted into the body of Christ, that we may be washed and cleansed by his blood, and afterward renewed in holiness of life by his Spirit. We hold also, that, although we be baptized but once, yet the benefits which are signified to us therein do extend themselves during the whole course of our life, even unto death, that so we may have a lasting signature with us that Jesus Christ will always be our righteousness and sanctification. And although Baptism be a sacrament of faith and repentance, yet, forasmuch as God doth, together with the parents, account their children and posterity to be Church members, we affirm that infants born of believing parents are, by the authority of Christ, to be baptized.

36th. We affirm that the Holy Supper of our Lord—to wit, the other sacrament—is a witness to us of our union with the Lord Jesus Christ, because that he is not only once dead and raised up again from the dead for us, but also he doth indeed feed us and nourish us with his flesh and blood, that we being made one with him, may have our life in common with him. And although he be now in heaven, and shall remain there till he come to judge the world, yet, we believe that, by the secret and incomprehensible virtue of his Spirit, he doth nourish and quicken us with the substance of his body and blood. But we say that this is done in a spiritual manner ; nor do we hereby substitute in the place of the effect and truth an idle fancy and conceit of our own, but rather because this mystery of our union with Christ is so high a thing that it surmounteth all our senses : yea, and the whole order of nature ; and, in short, because it is celestial, therefore it cannot be apprehended but by faith.

37th. We believe, as it was said before, that both in Baptism and the Lord's Supper, God doth indeed, truly and effectually, give whatsoever he doth there sacramentally exhibit, and therefore we conjoin with the signs the true possession and enjoyment of what is offered to us in them. Therefore we affirm that they which do bring pure faith, as a clean vessel, unto the holy Supper of the Lord, they do indeed receive that which the signs do there witness; that is, that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are no less the meat and drink of the soul, than bread and wine are the meat of the body.

38th. We say, therefore, that let the element of water be ever so despicable, yet, notwithstanding, it doth truly witness unto us the inward washing of our souls with the blood of Jesus Christ, by the virtue and efficacy of his Spirit; and that the bread and wine, being given us in the Lord's Supper, do serve very deed unto our spiritual nourishment, because they do, as were, point out unto us with the finger, that the flesh of Jesus Christ is our meat, and his blood our drink. And we reject those fanatics who will not receive such signs and marks, though Jesus Christ doth speak plainly, "This is my body, and this cup is my blood."

39th. We believe that God will have the world to be ruled by laws and civil government, that there may be some sort of bridle by which the unruly lusts of the world may be restrained; and that, therefore, he appointed kingdoms, commonwealths, and other kinds of principalities, whether hereditary or otherwise. And not that only, but also whatsoever pertaineth to the administration of justice, whereof he avoucheth himself the author; therefore hath he even delivered the sword into the magistrate's hand, that so sins committed against both the tables of God's law, not only against the second but the first also, may be suppressed. And, therefore, because God is the author of this order we must not only suffer magistrates, whom he hath set over us, but we must also give them all honor and reverence, unto his officers and lieutenants, which have received their commission from him to exercise so lawful and sacred a function.

40th. Therefore, we affirm, that obedience must be yielded unto their laws and statutes; that tribute must be paid them, taxes and all other dues; and that we must bear the yoke of sub-

jection with a free and willing mind, although the magistrates be infidels, so that the sovereign government of God be preserved entire. Wherefore, we detest all those who do reject the higher powers, and would bring in a community and confusion of goods, and subvert the course of justice.

Agreeably to the system of order and discipline established by the General Assembly for the government of the Church, pastors were required, on pain of deposition, to reside near their respective churches; and they were prohibited from engaging in professional business—either of law or medicine; candidates for the holy office were required to compose a brief confession of their faith in Latin, and to be able to defend it, when assailed, in the same language. The churches were enjoined to select, for their spiritual teachers, scholars well advanced in good learning, and of promising abilities, who shall be maintained in the universities until they were well prepared for the work of the ministry: and to accomplish this object, all whose worldly prosperity would enable them, were exhorted to appropriate yearly a portion of their income as a fund for the education of youths in theology and the classics. Each church was required to take care of the widows and orphans of deceased ministers, in whose service they may die. Those endowed with gifts for writing were to be chosen by the provinces, whose duty it should be to defend the doctrines of the Church; and a colloquy was established in each province for examining the manuscripts before they were committed to the press. It was ordained that “the churches shall do their utmost endeavor to erect schools, and take care of the instruction of their youth;” and that “all ministers shall endeavor to catechise every one in their flocks once or twice a-year, and shall exhort them to conform themselves thereunto very carefully. Fathers and mothers were exhorted “to be very careful of their children’s education, which are the seed-plot and promising hopes of God’s Church:” and such as sent them to schools to be educated by priests, monks, Jesuits, and nuns, were declared obnoxious to the censures of the Church. Printers, booksellers, painters, and other artificers, and, in general, all the faithful, and, in particular, such as might bear offices in the Church, were strictly admonished to do nothing in their calling which would tend to countenance the

superstitions of the Church of Rome. It was, however, enjoined upon all professing the Reformed doctrines to forbear from all violence and injurious words against the members of the Church of Rome—as also against priests and monks. The General Assembly also declared, that “although it hath not been the custom to administer the Lord’s Supper in the greatest part of our churches more than four times a-year, yet it were to be desired that it might be oftener, so that the reverence which is needful for this holy sacrament could be kept up and observed; because it is most profitable for the children of God to be exercised, and grow in faith, by the frequent use of the sacraments, and the example of the primitive Church doth invite us to it. Therefore, our national synods shall take care and order in this matter, as is requisite for the weal and happiness of our churches.”

“A striking proof,” says Lorimer, from whose historical sketch I have derived all that has been written in reference to the proceedings of this assembly, “of the high state of discipline, and the deep tenderness of conscience which prevailed in the Protestant Church of France, may be gathered from the fact, that in the very first Synod of Paris, above twenty cases of conscience were discussed and decided upon; and, it may be added, the judgments of the Assembly were generally marked with much good sense, and great regard for the authority of the word of God.”

NOTE.—To preserve the unity in the history of the Reformation in the several states of Europe, the history of the French Protestant Church, subsequent to the year 1559, will be resumed in the third volume of this work. It is the design of the writer, if God shall favor his undertaking, to compile a circumstantial history of that Church from the accession of Francis II. to the present time. This, also, will be embraced in the second part, agreeably to the divisions he has assumed in the arrangement of the entire work. The third part, with which that volume will be concluded, will comprise a minute history of the Huguenots who fled from the persecutions in France to foreign countries, particularly of those who emigrated to America. On this subject very little has yet been published, in a comprehensive form. From the friendly aid which has been extended to him, in the collection of important facts, particularly in relation to the Huguenots of South Carolina, he flatters himself that this portion of the work, at least, will not disappoint the expectations of the public.

CHAPTER X.

THE union for the defence of religious rites, formed by the Protestant princes of Germany, at Smalcalde and at Frankfort, in the year 1530, was opposed, on the part of the Papists, by the Holy League. The pacification effected at Nuremberg, in 1532, suspended, for a time, the military operations of the contending parties; but as this compromise was not based upon a full concession of the privileges demanded by the Protestants under any sure guaranty of its permanency, and this concession had, in truth, been manifestly made under an exigency of circumstances, it was evident that the peace obtained would be but temporary. The emperor had yielded from necessity, and his well-known duplicity and perfidy strengthened the vigilance of his enemies. The promises of a general council, which would adjust existing differences, were unsatisfactory to the Protestants, who were well assured, that justice, and an admission of their claims would not be awarded by that ecclesiastical body, nor did they acknowledge its authority.

The emperor seemed solicitous of referring to a general council of the Church the questions which divided the empire, and repeatedly urged on the reigning pontiff the necessity of convoking one. But Clement had many reasons to apprehend a meeting of this assembly. The judgment of the council at Pisa, in 1409, which declared "both Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. guilty of heresy, perjury, and contumacy, unworthy of the smallest tokens of honor or respect, and separated, *ipso facto*, from the communion of the Church," was still on record in the Vatican. The deposition of John XXIII., by the council at Constance, in 1414, (which he had injudiciously summoned,)

on a sentence pronounced against him, "for flagitious crimes and the scandalous violation of his solemn engagement," was set in the recollection of Clement. But this reigning pontiff was the natural son of Julian of Medicis, and he feared the question of his right to the chair of St. Peter would be agitated by his enemies. There was another reason which influenced his conduct; he was aware that his elevation had been procured by money and corruption; and that the family of the Colonnas—the instruments of the emperor—were in possession of the facts. These considerations undoubtedly determined the course pursued by Clement; which was, by artifice and delay to frustrate the designs of the emperor. His character was altogether in consistency with such a system of duplicity and cunning. "A profound dissembler, a practised politician, subtle, cautious, evasive, he was," says a modern writer, "admirably qualified for that management which the popedom needed;"—"The emperor became very desirous for the adjustment of the religious differences that agitated Germany, but could obtain nothing from the pontiff, except a promise to employ all the machinery of spiritual terror, if he, on his part, would unsheath the sword, and save himself the trouble of convincing heretics by destroying them." He, at one time, promised to convene a council at Mantua; at another time, at Placentia; and then, at Bologna: and succeeded, by his evasions and false promises, in deceiving the emperor throughout the period of his pontificate.

Clement died in the year 1534, and was succeeded by Paul III. This new pontiff professed an anxious wish to reform the morals of the ecclesiastics, to purify the Church of its corruptions, and to compromise the religious differences which distracted Christendom. He expressed a determination in 1535 to convocate a general council; and in the following year issued circular letters, appointing the 23d of May, 1537, for the time of a meeting at Mantua. The Protestants objected to a council summoned by the Pope alone, and ordered to convene in Italy; and prepared, at Smalcalde, another summary of their doctrines, to be presented, if required, to the bishops who would be assembled at Mantua. This formula is known as the "Articles of Smalcalde." This council did not convene; and Paul, to silence the general clamor, appointed John Peter Caraffa, and three other cardinals, with five distinguished prelates, to deliberate on

measures for a reform of the Church. This has been already mentioned. The articles* drawn up by them, were recorded in the archives of the Church ; were made the subjects of ridicule and of sarcasms by Luther, and Sturmius of Strasburg ; and inserted afterward in the catalogue of condemned writings by Caraffa himself, when elevated to the Papal chair, as Paul IV. The pontiffs, in all their apparent efforts to reform the clergy, contrived, by secret machinations and counterplots, to defeat their avowed purpose. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum* continued to be the motto—a maxim as well as a fact—in the Church of Rome.

The emperor, impatient under the procrastination and duplicity of the pontiffs, summoned a meeting of distinguished theologians of both parties, at Worms, in 1541, to discuss publicly the several points in controversy. Eckius and Melancthon were three days engaged in a religious disputation. This conference, however, terminated without the adoption of any terms of pacification ; although it was transferred to Ratisbon, where a general Diet was held.

At a Diet convened at Spires in the year 1542, Paul publicly announced his determination to convene a general council at the city of Trent, on the confines of Germany and Italy. The emperor endeavored to extort a promise from the Protestant princes of acquiescing in the decisions of this council, but without success. A plan of co-operation was concluded between the pontiff and himself ; and means of coercing the Protestants into a compliance were evidently in preparation, when the council commenced its first session on the 13th of December, 1545. This was the twentieth, and the last general council of the Papal Church. The Protestant princes, in the Diet at Ratisbon, again solemnly protested against its authority and its proceedings ; and both parties took up arms. Luther died two months after, at Eisleben.

The war was conducted without any certain issue until the year 1547, when in the month of April, John Frederick, surnamed

* Among other instances of the corrupt state of morals among the clergy, they complained, that " it was a scandal to see the common prostitutes lodged so magnificently in Rome, and riding through the streets on fine mules, accompanied by the cardinals, and other ecclesiastics, in a most courteous and familiar manner.

the Magnanimous, who was the chief of the Protestant Union of Smalcalde, was defeated at Muhlberg by the imperial army—in consequence of the defection of Maurice of the younger branch of the House of Saxony, of the want of concert among the confederate princes, and of the failure of the expected aid from France. This disaster was aggravated by the voluntary surrender soon after of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, the other leader of the Protestant Union. The emperor, having thus dispersed his enemies, and captured the two most distinguished and powerful leaders of that party, seemed now determined to dictate and to enforce the terms of a conqueror. In the Diet at Augsburg, soon after, he conferred on Maurice the electorate of Saxony, of which he had deprived his prisoner, John Frederick. The princes and States friendly to the Reformation were required to sign new articles of faith drawn up under his direction by Popish prelates. These are known in history as the *Formula ad Interim*; being intended as a rule of faith, pending the deliberations of the general council at Trent. By this imperial creed, the communion in both kinds was allowed the Protestants, and the marriage of their ministers was also permitted, with this qualification, however, that the privileges thus extended should be subject to the judgment of the council. It is true, that, although the *formula* contained all the essential doctrines of Popery, the terms and expressions of the instrument were cautiously constructed, and, it would appear, intentionally ambiguous. The emperor possessed the power of dictating his own construction; and this deceptive and artfully contrived phraseology has served no better purpose than to furnish Jesuitical Papists with the means of fraudulently softening down the Papal doctrines, and making them less revolting to the understanding and feelings of a Protestant. Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, in his “Exposition of the Roman Catholic Faith,” drew largely from the peculiar diction of the *formula* to deceive the Huguenots in the seventeenth century.

The cause of the Reformation was for a time prostrated in Germany. At length, the new Elector of Saxony assembled at Leipsic, in the year 1548, the Saxon nobility and clergy of the Protestant faith, to deliberate on the measures to be adopted in reference to the subject. Melancthon's indecisive course in the

conferences which were held,* distracted their counsels; and, but for the violent and uncompromising measures adopted by the emperor and the pontiff, the dissolution of that party might have been the consequence.

At the Diet convened in the year 1551 at Augsburg, the emperor obtained from the princes an assent to the meeting of the general council at Trent. This was the more readily accomplished as the imperial army was stationed at a point from which it could be easily directed to enforce obedience. Maurice, however, annexed conditions to his assent, that the doctrines already decided on by the council should be re-considered—that their future discussions shall be held in the presence of the Protestant divines—that the Protestants of Germany be represented in the council—that neither the Pope nor his legates be permitted to preside over that assembly. These conditions were submitted to the Diet, but rejected.

Charles having humbled the refractory princes of the empire, flattered himself that he had at length attained to that eminence which had been the constant object of his aspiring ambition. Having acquired an ascendancy in the empire, he resolved upon reducing the Papal power under his control, by a skillful management and direction of the council assembled at Trent. Indulging in dreams of future glory, the emperor reposed in fancied security at Inspruck with a small detachment of his army. Maurice embraced the opportunity of extorting from him more favorable terms, than had been conceded after the battle of Muhlberg, to the Protestants;† and advancing with great rapidity, he surprised the emperor, and reduced him to the necessity of concluding a treaty most favorable to the cause of the Reformation.

The Treaty of Pacification of Passau, which was the result of this sudden defection of Maurice of Saxony, and his skillfully

* Melancthon believed that the formula might be approved, adopted, and received, as an authoritative rule, so far as it enjoined the observance of the rites and ceremonies of the Popish worship, which he did not deem essential points of religion, and which, he said, might be considered as things accessory and indifferent. (Mosheim.)

† Maurice had previously concluded a secret treaty with Henry II. of France, at Chambord, and enlisted some of the princes of the empire in his cause.

conducted enterprise, is considered as the basis of the religious liberty of Germany. This was concluded in the year 1552. It was stipulated that the princes shall assist Ferdinand in his war with the Turks, and that the Landgrave of Hesse should be liberated. The *formula ad interim* was declared null and void, and a free and undisturbed enjoyment of religious rights and privileges was guaranteed to all parties. The emperor solemnly pledged himself to convene a Diet, within six months from the date of the treaty, for an amicable adjustment of all religious differences; but it was also expressed, that the Diet should do nothing in contravention of the rights of either party touching their religious doctrines and forms of worship. A restoration of all privileges, civil rights, possessions, and employments, was secured to those who had been banished, or in any manner distrained, on account of the war of Smalcalde; and finally, that the Imperial Chamber at Spire should be open equally to Protestants with Papists, and that it shall always be composed in part of those professing the Lutheran doctrines. Such are the outlines of this celebrated treaty, obtained by the wonderful providence of God, without the sacrifice of life or bloodshed.

The state of political affairs in Europe prevented the assembling of a Diet until the year 1555, when one was convened at Augsburg under the authority of the emperor. Ferdinand presided; and in this imperial council the terms of a permanent peace were definitively settled. On the 25th of September, the religious liberties of the German Protestants were recognized, and secured on the following basis—"That the Protestants who followed the Confession of Augsburg,* should be for the future considered as entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, and from the authority and superintendence of the Bishops"—"That they were left at perfect liberty to enact laws for themselves, relating to their religious sentiments, discipline, and worship"—"That all the inhabitants of the German empire should be allowed to judge for themselves in religious matters, and to join themselves to that church whose doctrine and worship they thought the purest, and the most consonant to the spirit of

* The summary of doctrines drawn up at Smalcalde, in 1537, to be presented to the bishops who were expected to be assembled at Mantua, is generally appended to the creeds and confessions of the Lutheran Church. (Mosheim.)

true Christianity"—and, "That all those who should injure or persecute any person under religious pretexts, and on account of their opinions, should be declared and proceeded against as public enemies of the empire, invaders of its liberty, and disturbers of its peace."*

The rights of the prelates became a subject of animated controversy in the Diet: If a bishop renounced his ancient faith, and adopted the principles of the Reformation, should he cease to be the usufructuary of his ecclesiastical possession? or, in other words, should he thereby lose his benefice? For this the Papal party, sustained by Ferdinand, strenuously contended; and the Protestants, for a time, as obstinately opposed the forfeiture. An article was at length introduced, establishing what was termed the *Spiritual Reservation*, by which it was decreed, "That if any archbishop, prelate, bishop, or other ecclesiastic, should, in time to come, renounce the faith of Rome, his dignity and benefice should be forfeited, and his place be filled by the chapter or college possessed of the power of election." This difference was thus compromised; the Protestants reluctantly consented to its settlement by the insertion of this fatal clause, but the *Reservatum Ecclesiasticum* was long after opposed by them as having been imposed upon them by force and unlawful constraint. This dissatisfaction, and other differences which subsequently arose in the construction of the treaty, laid the foundation of unceasing controversies and hostilities, and eventually led to the thirty years war in the following century.† Another difficulty arose from the provisions of this treaty—the liberty of the princes and States, rather than that of the people,

* By the Treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, the religious peace of 1555 was solemnly confirmed, and declared to embrace all of the *Reformed*, or *Calvinistic* party. All ecclesiastical matters—as to the forms of public worship, enjoyment of spiritual benefices, &c.—were, by that treaty, regulated on the basis of the decree entitled the *Uti Possidetis*, of the 1st of January, 1624. Several bishoprics and ecclesiastical benefices were at the same time secularized.

† The Protestant princes were compelled, by Papal encroachments on their rights, to form another union, at Heilbrun, in 1594; which was further strengthened at Halle, in Suabia, in 1608, and in 1610. Henry IV., of France, was the chief of this confederacy. His participation in this alliance instigated the Jesuit Ravallac to his assassination. The Papists, on their part, renewed their league at Wurtzburg, in 1609.

seems to have been secured by it. Ferdinand, and his son-in-law Albert, Duke of Bavaria, declared that, "as they wished to participate in eternal salvation, they could not allow their subjects a religion in which they could themselves find no consolation." This principle having been acceded to, it followed, that the religion of the prince determined the religion of his subjects, and they had no other alternative but that of compliance or migration. Such was the nature of the pacification of Germany, in the year 1555.

While the spirit of the Reformation was thus advancing in the northern portions of Europe, and its successive victories seemed equally rapid and decisive, Rome was not the less active and energetic in suppressing heresies wherever the secular arm could be controlled to sustain its spiritual prerogatives. Although driven from that high eminence of supremacy to which it had attained, and on which it had for centuries reposed in pleasing dreams of grandeur and greatness, it relaxed not a fibre, cast not aside a single weapon drawn from its inexhaustible armory for attack or defence, disputed with indomitable courage and sleepless vigilance every inch of ground with its active adversary, and never retreated before it had cast its eyes upon some point more advantageous for carrying on the conflict, and for renewing its aggressions. It yielded none of its doctrines, abated nothing of its superstitious observances and rites, advanced not a step nearer to the spiritual truths of the Gospel, lopped off not one branch of its corruptions; its ancient institutions, founded in long past ages of ignorance and bigotry, were remodelled to suit the genius of the sixteenth century. In fine, the system of Popery continued essentially the same; if it erected a temple to be dedicated to Peter, the apostle of Christ, it was upon the foundation of that which had been reared on the ancient site and with the ruins of the temples of Apollo and Mars. The Congregation or Order of the Camaldolites, instituted in the eleventh century by an Italian fanatic, was reorganized; the discipline of the Franciscans of the thirteenth century was restored; the society of the Theatins was founded, to preach the doctrines of the Church, and to combat heretics with an indefatigable zeal; next followed the establishment of the Regular Clerks of St. Paul, whose duty it was to bring back lapsed Papists into the bosom of Holy Mother Church, and to convince

Protestants of their errors, and of their damnable sin of recusancy and schism. But the most extraordinary institution of this or any other age was the Order of the Jesuits.

Ignatius, or Inigo, of Loyola, a Spanish nobleman, was the founder of this society. He had fought in his youth in the armies of Ferdinand the Catholic. Receiving a wound at the siege of Pampeluna, in 1521, he devoted his time, during his confinement, to the reading of legends and historical romances. By these works of extravagance and fiction his imagination was excited, and visions of glory floated before him as the objects of real life. He determined to be a knight—not of chivalry, in quest of military renown and of martial achievements—but of the spouse of Christ. He would be the champion of the Church. He visited the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, made a tour through France and Spain, and every where was venerated for the austerity of his habits, and the severe penances and vigils to which he voluntarily subjected himself. At length the Holy Virgin communed with him, as he bowed before her image, and consecrated himself to her service and that of her Son. He saw the Saviour face to face. In the sacrifice of the mass he beheld the real conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. He vowed to the Virgin and her Son perpetual and inviolable fidelity, and directed his steps to the great metropolis of Christendom.

Such were the circumstances under which this wild enthusiast, who was destined to take the lead in the great reaction which was about to take place in Popery, devoted himself to the services of the Church. The principle of the *Society of Jesus* was implicit obedience and unconditional submission to the authority of the Roman pontiff: and upon this obligation Pope Paul III., by his bull in 1540,* sanctioned the new Order, and appointed Ignatius its first general. In 1545, another Papal bull permitted the society “to alter, annul, or revive, at pleasure, as times, places, and circumstances may require, their constitutions made, or to be made.” By a third bull, in the year 1549, the Pope invested the general of the Order with complete jurisdiction over the members, and with full power over the funds of the society: together with the privilege of sending any indivi-

* Entitled “*Regimini Militantis Ecclesie.*”

dual of the Order wherever he may please. They were bound by vows of poverty, chastity, and monastic obedience.

"In 1540, Loyola had ten disciples, but at the close of the century they numbered ten thousand five hundred and eighty. In the beginning of the eighteenth century the Order possessed 24 professed houses, 59 houses of probation, 341 residences, 612 colleges, 200 missions, 150 seminaries, and 19,998 members."* "In less than half a century," says McGavin, "the society obtained establishments in every country that adhered to the Roman Catholic Church; its power and wealth increased amazingly; the number of its members became great; their character and accomplishments were still greater; and the Jesuits were celebrated by the friends, and dreaded by the enemies, of the Romish faith as the most able and enterprising Order in the Church."

Before the expiration of the sixteenth century, they had obtained the chief direction of the education of youth in every Catholic country in Europe; they had become the confessors of almost all its monarchs; they were the spiritual guides of almost every person eminent for rank or power. They possessed the highest degree of confidence and interest with the papal court, as the most able and zealous champions for its authority. They formed the minds of men in their youth. They retained an ascendent over them in their advanced years. They possessed at different periods the direction of the most considerable courts in Europe. They mingled in all affairs. They took part in every intrigue and revolution. The general, by means of the extensive intelligence which he received, could regulate the operations of the Order with the most perfect discernment, and by means of his absolute power could carry them on with the utmost vigor and effect." "Such was the tendency of that discipline observed by the society in forming its members, and such the fundamental maxims in their constitution, that every Jesuit was taught to regard the interest of the Order as the capital object, to which every consideration was to be sacrificed." "They had published such tenets concerning the duty of opposing princes who were enemies of the Catholic faith, as countenanced the most atrocious crimes, and tended to dissolve all the ties which connect subjects with their rulers. (From Robertson's Charles V.)

* Robertson's Charles V.

The delineation of this Order by the graphic pen of T. B. Macaulay gives a true and finished portrait of their character. "With what vehemence, with what policy, with what exact discipline, with what dauntless courage, with what self-denial, with what forgetfulness of the dearest private ties, with what intense and stubborn devotion to a single end, with what unscrupulous laxity and versatility in the choice of means, the Jesuits fought the battles of their Church, is written in every page of the annals of Europe, during several generations. In the Order of Jesus was concentrated the quintessence of the Catholic spirit; and the history of the Order of Jesus is the history of the great Catholic re-action. That Order possessed itself at once of all the strongholds which command the public mind—of the Pulpit, of the Press, of the Confessional, of the academies. Wherever the Jesuit preached the church was too small for the audience. The name of Jesuit on a title-page secured the circulation of a book. It was in the ears of the Jesuit that the powerful, the noble, and the beautiful, breathed the secret history of their lives. It was at the feet of the Jesuit that the youth of the higher and middle classes were brought up from the first rudiments to the courses of rhetoric and philosophy, literature and science, lately associated with infidelity or with heresy, now become the allies of orthodoxy.

"Dominant in the south of Europe, the great Order soon went forth conquering and to conquer. In spite of oceans and deserts, of hunger and pestilence, of spies and penal laws, of dungeons and racks, of gibbets and quartering-blocks, Jesuits were to be found under every disguise, and in every country: scholars, physicians, merchants, serving-men; in the hostile court of Sweden, in the old manor-houses of Cheshire, among the hovels of Connaught; arguing, instructing, consoling, stealing away the hearts of the young, animating the courage of the timid, holding up the crucifix before the eyes of the dying.

"Nor was it less their office to plot against the thrones and lives of apostate kings, to spread evil rumors, to raise tumults, to inflame civil wars, to arm the hand of the assassin.* Inflexible in nothing but in their fidelity to the Church, they were equally

* Nine hundred thousand orthodox Christians were slain in less than thirty years after the institution of the Jesuits. (Scott's Comm. on Revelation.)

ready to appeal in her cause to the spirit of loyalty and to the spirit of freedom. Extreme doctrines of obedience and extreme doctrines of liberty—the right of rulers to misgovern the people, the right of every one of the people to plunge his knife in the heart of a bad ruler—were inculcated by the same man, according as he addressed himself to the subject of Philip or the subject of Elizabeth.” “The truly devout listened with awe to the high and saintly morality of the Jesuit. The gay cavalier who had run his rival through the body; the frail beauty who had forgotten her marriage vow, found in the Jesuit an easy, well-bred man of the world, tolerant of the little irregularities of people of fashion. The confessor was strict or lax according to the temper of the penitent. His first object was to drive no person out of the pale of the Church. Since there were bad people, it was better that they should be bad Catholics than bad Protestants. If a person was so unfortunate as to be a bravo, a libertine, or a gambler, that was no reason for making him a heretic too.

“The Old World was not wide enough for this strange activity. The Jesuits invaded all the countries which the great maritime discoveries of the preceding age had laid open to European enterprise. In the depths of the Peruvian mines, at the marts of the African slave-caravans, on the shores of the Spice Islands, at the observatories of China, they were to be found. They made converts in regions which neither avarice nor curiosity had tempted any of their countrymen to enter; and preached and disputed in tongues of which no other native of the West understood a word.

“Loyola, influenced, perhaps, by the notions of implicit obedience which he had derived from his military profession, resolved that the government of the Jesuits should be absolutely monarchical. A general, chosen for life, by deputies from the several provinces, possessed supreme and independent power, extending to every person, and applying to every case. He acknowledged the Pope alone as his superior, and to him he owed an implicit obedience. Every member of the Order, the instant that he entered its pale, surrendered all freedom of thought and action; and every personal feeling was superseded by the interests of that body to which he had attached himself. He went wherever he was ordered; he performed whatever he was commanded; he suffered whatever he was enjoined; he became a

mere passive instrument, incapable of resistance. The gradation of ranks was only a gradation in slavery; and so perfect a despotism over a large body of men, dispersed over the face of the earth, was never before realized." (Encycl. of Relig. Knowl.)

In the year 1604, the Order was expelled from England; and in 1606, from Venice. Upon the charge of having instigated the families of Tavora and D'Aveiro to assassinate King Joseph I., the Jesuits were banished from Portugal, in 1759. They were implicated in the plots by which Henry III. of France fell, and the life of Henry IV. was attempted, and his assassination afterward accomplished,* and were expelled from that country. They were re-admitted, however, and exerted a powerful influence against the Huguenots in the subsequent reigns of Louis XIII., XIV. and XV., but were again banished in 1764, their institution having been condemned by the Parliament of Paris two years before, "as contrary to the laws of the State, to the obedience due to the sovereign, and to the welfare of the kingdom." Charles III. of Spain, Ferdinand VI. of Naples, and the Prince of Parma, severally expelled them from their dominions, in the year 1767. Clement XIV. suppressed the Order in 1773. Russia, in 1801, restored the Order, in the reign of Paul. In August, 1814, a bull was issued by Pope Pius VII., restoring the Order to all their former privileges, and calling upon all Popish princes to extend to the Jesuits encouragement and protection. In France and Germany they are connived at, although there has been no positive law for their re-admission; and they have been permitted to establish colleges in Lancashire, England. "Conversion," said McGavin, in the Protestant, in 1818, "of Protestants, and Roman Catholic instruction, are provided for, on a scale the most extensive and complete; and the success of the experiment, we are sorry to say, has been fully equal to the preparations. By their exertions, Popery has alarmingly increased in the duchy. It is certain that, whereas before their arrival there was not perhaps half a score of Papists about Stonyhurst, the greater part of the population in that vicinity, to the amount of some thousands, are now become such. It is a fact, that the Jesuit priests have regularly and systematically preached for years past in the populous

* Such is the charity of the Jesuits, says Fuller, that they never owe any man ill-will—making present payment thereof.

town of Preston, against the English Church and faith ; while it is said that even the booksellers of the town are afraid publicly to expose for sale any books against Popery, though there is a bookseller in the town whose windows and shops are covered with anti-Protestant publications."

A Jesuit is bound by the solemn oath which is taken by him, to defend the doctrine of the supremacy of the Pope over all heretical kings, princes, States, commonwealths and governments ; all being declared illegal without his sacred confirmation, and may safely be destroyed. He renounces and disowns, by the same solemn oath, any allegiance as due to any heretical king, prince or State, named Protestants, or obedience to any of their inferior magistrates or officers. By that oath, he declares, that the doctrines of the Church of England, of the Calvinists, Huguenots, and of other of the named Protestants, are damnable, and that they themselves are damned, and to be damned, who will not forsake the same. He solemnly binds himself to help, assist, and advise all, or any of his Holiness' agents, in any place, wherever he may be ; and to do his utmost to extirpate the heretical Protestants' doctrine, and to destroy all their pretended powers, regal or otherwise. Moreover he swears that, notwithstanding he may be dispensed with to assume any religion, heretical, for the propagating of the Mother Church's interest, he will keep secret and private all her agents' counsels from time to time, as they shall be intrusted to him ; and not divulge them directly or indirectly, by word, writing, or circumstance : but that he will execute whatever shall be proposed, given in charge or discovered to him, either by the Pope, or by any of the sacred order. This solemn oath is taken in the name of the Trinity and blessed sacrament, which is immediately after administered, and all the heavenly and glorious host of Heaven are called to witness the sincerity of his intentions.*

In the language of an American writer, the pertinency of which to the present subject can be determined by an intelligent mind for itself, "There is nothing more repulsive to all the noble theories upon which our social compact is based, than

* See McGavin's Protestant, American Edition, Vol. ii. p. 256. Form of the oath of secrecy, found in a collection of papers made by Archbishop Usher. Also, Church of Christ, Appendix, p. 311.

that the religious faith, the political influence, and the moral conduct of one man, should be regulated according to the mandate or caprice of another citizen. Yet it has been demonstrated by the Italian Secretary of State, that such is exactly the case with every devoted Romanist. He believes nothing which is not to him attested by his priest. He will know nothing, if it be not communicated by his father-confessor. He does nothing, except under his priest's direction. Of course, a Papist, thus enthralled, possesses no one implied attribute of a genuine American citizen.

"Under his sworn obligations to a foreign power, the fulfillment of which allegiance combines all his earthly comfort and expectations; how can Popery be compatible with our civil institutions? How can a Roman priest, in strict parlance, ever be a faithful citizen? How can a resolute Papist consistently avow himself a patriotic adherent of a country, all the social rules of which are at the direct antipodes of that system to which he believes himself bound, by the very highest claims of his religion, unreservedly and always to submit?

"The undeniable facts on this momentous subject are these: every Roman prelate and every Roman priest in this republic has made the profession, and taken the oath already referred to; and that oath, in fact, is a solemn promise, not only to be unfaithful to one's lawful government, but even to betray it, as often as the interests of the court of Rome may render it necessary.*

"The doctrines of the Jesuits, which constitute the prevalent and great moral code among the American Papists, are replete with the most abhorrent dissimulation and falsehood. The vilest crime, if perpetrated from a design to benefit the Church, or to injure heretics, is metamorphosed, according to their casuistry, into a most laudable virtue. That faith is not to be kept with heretics is the mainspring of all the Roman machinery in reference to Protestants; and in the amplitude of its application, it sanctions every species of fraud, treachery, and falsehood, which can be perpetrated with impunity."

"The fundamental, unchangeable dogma of Romanism is, that the Pope's supremacy is constant and universal;" and that

* See Appendix C.

this supremacy is founded upon his infallibility. Upon this chief corner-stone of Romanism, Loyola erected the most formidable institution ever devised by the ingenuity or wickedness of man.

But the revival and reorganization of ancient orders and brotherhoods, and the establishment of new ones, were not the only points from which the great re-action in the Papal Church commenced in the middle of the sixteenth century. The Council of Trent opened its first session on the 13th of December, 1545. This formed a memorable epoch in the Papal Church. No new system was intended to be established, no new doctrines to be introduced, no novel code of morals to be enacted: these had all been matured. It is true, a reform—*tam in capite quam in membris*—had been, for centuries before, imperatively called for. The people had, for generations back, clamored against the corruption and vices of the clergy; and the ecclesiastics had acknowledged the existence of these abuses; but the head of the Church, more debased in wickedness than the members, clung to its vices and its corruptions with a tenacious grasp. There was no one point in which the pontiffs were more unyielding than in that of a reformation of morals. Hence their uniform and decided aversion to the call of a general council. The proceedings at Trent were evidently directed by that dominant principle which controlled the counsels at Rome. The despotic authority of the pontiffs was the moving power which governed the action of that assembly.

The great purpose for which that council was convened seems to have been, to draw, by plain and indelible lines, a demarcation which would distinguish, as palpable as to the senses, the Papal from the Protestant Church. The controversies which had arisen between the two religious parties, had given a prominence to the doctrinal questions, long before agitated, but never so publicly discussed. The great advance which Protestantism had now made, the scriptural doctrines which it had assumed as its basis, the new forms of worship it had introduced, the system of practical morals it prescribed, all of them directly opposed to the ancient tenets and customs of Popery, imperatively called on the Romish Hierarchy for a clear and positive definition of its true position. The strength which the Reformation had acquired, coerced the pontiff to a measure which no force of cir-

cumstances, unconnected with the dangers which now threatened, could have extorted from him.

The Council of Trent was the *point d'appui* of the future movements of the Papacy. It was here that it burnished its armor, rallied its forces, and prepared for the renewal of the conflict with renovated vigor.

Instructions were issued by Pope Paul III. to his legates, the Cardinals De Monte, Santa Croce, and Pole, to open the council on the 13th of December, 1545. He also published a bull of indulgence, "promising a full pardon of sin to all, who, in the week immediately after the publication of the bull in their respective places of abode, should fast on Wednesday and Friday, receive the sacrament on Sunday, and join in processions and supplications for the blessing on the council."

When the council was assembled, De Monte performed the mass of the Holy Ghost, and the Bishop of Bitonto delivered a discourse. He declared, that all who should resist their authority, and disobey their decrees, would be guilty of rebellion against the Holy Ghost; and justly incur, thereby, the indignation of the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of France,* "from whom it would be impossible for them to escape; that neither mountains, lakes, nor floods would save them; that, swifter than eagles, stronger than lions, the pontiff and the sovereigns would pursue and seize them, and trample them to death." "He concluded by invoking the presence and aid of Jesus Christ, *through the intercession of Virgilius, the tutelary saint of the Valley of Trent.*

The first subject submitted to the Council was the title by which it should be distinguished. *Sacred* and *Holy*, were by unanimous consent affixed to it, but whether the expression, "representing the universal Church" should be added to these, became a question of animated controversy. This conflicted with the pretensions of the pontiffs, who claimed to be the impersonation of the Church, holding their power immediately from Jesus Christ, and therefore invested with supreme and exclusive authority in all things appertaining to the Church, both

* The decrees of the Council of Trent considered contrary to the laws of the kingdom, to the authority of the sovereign, and the maxims of the Gallican Church, have never been of binding force within the realm. (Koch.)

temporal and spiritual. This point was conceded by the council, by its adoption of the simple title "ecumenical and universal."

In its fifteenth session, in the year 1552, the question of the superiority of bishops to priests was discussed in the council, without decision however, and the subject was renewed in the twenty-second session in 1562. This question had immediate reference to that of divine right, and not to that of dignity or rank. If the divine right were admitted, the bishops would claim to be independent of the Pope. The Jesuit Lainez was employed to refute the advocates of the divine right. True to the principles of his Order, he contended that "the Pope is absolute lord and master, supreme and infallible; that bishops derive from him their power and jurisdiction, and that, in fact, there is no power whatever in the Church but from him, so that even general councils have no authority, are not infallible, do not enjoy the influence of the Holy Spirit, unless they are summoned and controlled by Papal authority." The advocates of divine right charged their opponents with a slavish spirit, and an obsequiousness to the will of the pontiff—while they were, in turn, called "malcontents and rebels, for opposing the just rights of Christ's vicar on earth." The council dismissed the question after an angry and protracted discussion. On a division, fifty-four prelates voted that the institution of bishops was of divine right,* and one hundred and twenty-seven against that opinion. The supremacy of the pontiff triumphed again.

It is not within the limits of my design to record the proceedings of the council. Its first session commenced in 1545. Its meetings were continued, and suspended, from time to time, to December 4, 1563, when it finally adjourned. I shall close this reference to its proceedings, with the account of the ceremonies by which it gave a solemn sanction to its acts, as described by the pen of another.†

"The acclamations of the fathers closed the proceedings of the

* The Bishop of Guadix said, "The bishops had their sole authority *de jure divino*; and that without the confirmation of the Pope they would be true bishops, since there is no proof that either Chrysostom, or Basil, or Gregory of Nice, received such confirmation, or indeed any thing at the hands of the Roman Pontiff." "There was," says Pallavicini, "an exclamation in the council—'*Curse him—burn him—he is a heretic.*'"

† Council of Trent—By the Presbyterian Board of Publications.

council. The Cardinal of Lorraine made himself conspicuous on that occasion. After having called on the Assembly to declare their best wishes and prayers for the Pope, the emperor, and other European monarchs, (including the souls of those who had died since the opening of the council,) for the legates, the cardinals, the ambassadors, and the bishops, he thus proceeded :

CARDINAL.—The most Holy and Ecumenical Council of Trent—may we ever confess its faith, ever observe its decrees.

FATHERS.—Ever may we confess, ever observe them.

CARDINAL.—Thus we all believe : we are all of the same mind ; with hearty assent we all subscribe. This is the faith of blessed Peter and the apostles ; this is the faith of the fathers ; this is the faith of the orthodox.

FATHERS.—Thus we believe ; thus we think ; thus we subscribe.

CARDINAL.—Abiding by these decrees, may we be found worthy of the mercy of the chief and great high priest, Jesus Christ our God, *by the intercession of our Holy Lady, the Mother of God, ever a Virgin, and all the Saints.*

FATHERS.—Be it so, be it so : Amen, amen.

CARDINAL.—*Accursed be all heretics !*

FATHERS.—*Accursed, accursed !*"

One of the objects for which the council had been convened—the reform of the Church—was overlooked in their deliberations. The reigning pontiff, Paul III., by whose authority it convened, preserved a vigilant watch over its proceedings. The emperor, who anticipated the most favorable results from the decrees of this Assembly, and fearing that its proceedings would be arrested by Paul, had instructed his ambassador at Trent (Juan de Vega) "to abstain from all mention of reform of abuses, which, he said, is very painful to the Pope, and to all the disorderly members of that court." The profligate character of the pontiff was of itself a sure guaranty that the corruptions in the Church would not be removed by ecclesiastical authority. He was charged by Hurtado de Mendoza, Spanish ambassador at Venice, in a letter to the emperor, dated 28th March, 1545, with having procured his election, as his predecessor had done, by the bribery of the cardinals.*

* "Paul III.," says the Rev. Blanco White, "began his spiritual reign by giving a cardinal's hat to each of his two grandsons, the eldest of whom was

Before the final adjournment of the council, five pontiffs had occupied successively the Papal throne: Paul III., who died in 1549; Julius III., in 1555; Marcellus II., the same year; Paul V., in 1559; and Pius IV. It was by the last that the council was dissolved.

"In December, 1564, Pius IV. issued a brief summary of the doctrinal decisions of the council, in the form of a creed, and usually called Pope Pius' Creed. This was immediately received throughout the universal Church, and since that time has ever been considered, in every part of the world, as an accurate and explicit summary of the Roman Catholic faith. Non-Catholics, at their admission into the Catholic Church, publicly repeat and testify their assent to it, without restriction or qualification."

Omitting those articles comprising the Nicene Creed, the following embrace the principal and fundamental doctrines of the Church:

13th. I most firmly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other constitutions and observances of the same Church.

14th. I also admit the sacred Scriptures, in the same sense that the only Mother Church doth, whose business it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of them; and I will interpret them according to the unanimous sense of the Fathers.

15th. I do profess and believe that there are seven sacraments of the law, truly and properly so called, instituted by Jesus Christ, our Lord, and necessary to the salvation of mankind, though not of them to every one, viz: baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and marriage; and that they confer grace; and that of these, baptism, confirmation and orders may not be repeated, without sacrilege. I do also receive and admit the received and approved rites of the Catholic Church under her solemn administration of the above-mentioned sacraments.

by six years old. Alessandro Farnese and Guido Ascanio Sforza, the two favorite eminences, were the Pope's grandsons. The first by his Holiness's son, Pietro Aloysio, the second by the holy father's daughter, Constanza. It is curious, indeed, to see a Pope so practically acquainted with the consequences of Romish celibacy, and so encumbered with the cares of an unlawful progeny, invoke a council to curse any one who should question the laws which bind the priesthood to perpetual continency." (White on Catholicism.)

16th. I do embrace and receive all and every thing that hath been defined and declared by the holy Council of Trent, concerning original sin and justification.

17th. I do also profess that in the mass there is offered unto God a true, proper and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead ; and that in the most holy sacrament of the eucharist there is truly, really and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ ; and that there is a conversion made of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood, which conversion the Catholic Church calls *transubstantiation*.

18th. I confess that under one kind only, whole and entire, Christ, and a true sacrament, is taken and received.

19th. I do firmly believe that there is a purgatory, and that the souls kept prisoners there do receive help by the suffrages of the faithful.

20th. I do likewise believe that the saints, reigning together with Christ, are to be worshipped and prayed to ; and that they do offer prayers unto God for us, and that their relics are to be had in veneration.

21st. I do most firmly assert that the images of Christ, of the blessed Virgin, (the mother of God,) and of other saints, ought to be had and retained, and due honor and veneration ought to be paid to them.

22d. I do affirm that the power of Indulgences was left by Christ in the Church, and that the use of them is very beneficial to Christian people.

23d. I do acknowledge the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church to be the mother and mistress of all Churches ; and I do promise and swear true obedience to the Bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ.

24th. I do undoubtedly receive and profess all other things which have been delivered, defined and declared by the sacred canons, and ecumenical councils, and especially by the holy Synod of Trent ; and all other things contrary thereto, and all heresies, condemned, rejected and anathematized by the Church, I do likewise condemn, reject and anathematize.

This true Catholic faith—out of which none can be saved—

which I now freely profess and truly hold, I, ———, promise, now and swear most constantly to hold and profess the same, whole and entire, with God's assistance, to the end of my life; and to procure, as far as lies in my power, that the same shall be held, taught and preached by all who are under me, or are intrusted to my care, by virtue of my office. So help me God, and these holy Gospels of God.

It was mortifying to the spiritual pride of the prelates who composed the council, and who, to give the sanction of divine approbation to their decrees, were presumptuous enough to apply to themselves the expression of the inspired apostles—"it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us"—that innumerable errors were discovered in those decrees by the divines of Louvain and Cologne before their publication, and it was found necessary to submit them to examination and correction. "I think that God has permitted this accident," said Vargas, "to cover them with shame and confusion."

Protestant divines, learned in the Greek and Hebrew languages, had detected inaccuracies in the Latin version of the Scriptures, known as the Vulgate, and which the faithful had been commanded to receive as the correct interpretation of the word of God. The subject was introduced into the council, and occasioned not a little perplexity in determining the proper measures to be adopted. It was proposed to submit the Latin Vulgate to a committee for a revision, and that corrections should be made by comparing the Old Testament with the original Hebrew text, and the New with the Greek. This was undoubtedly the only method of correcting the evil. The divines of Trent thought otherwise, however. "Unless the Vulgate itself were declared to be divine," they said, "and authentic in every part, immense advantage would be yielded to the Lutherans, and innumerable heresies would arise and trouble the Church." Indeed, the Pope appears to have disapproved of the proceedings, and the subject was dismissed. It was better that the people were left in their ignorance of the true word of God, than that the Church should acknowledge its error, and incur the ridicule of the Protestants.

The Vulgate, which the Council of Trent declared to be the standard version of the Papal Church, was prepared by Jerome, and published in the year 405. Augustine and Rufinus, ancient

Fathers of the Church, rejected it, and even wrote against it with much asperity and violence. In the seventh century it was generally adopted in preference to the ancient Vulgata or Itala, which was the version received by ecclesiastical authority at the time. In the reign of Charlemagne, the Latin Vulgate of Jerome had become corrupted by numerous transcripts having been made in manuscript ; and that sovereign ordered a revision of the several copies then existing, and a corrected edition of the work prepared. Subsequently, and throughout the middle ages, frequent alterations or corrections were made, under the name of *correctoria*. This was before the art of printing was discovered.

Such is the brief history of the standard version of the Bible adopted by the Council of Trent. But the pontiff, Paul IV., after the final adjournment of that assembly, employed many learned men to revise and to correct the work solemnly declared by it to be the true interpretation of the word of God ; and this undertaking was completed in 1590, by his successor, Sixtus V. "This edition was accompanied by a bull enjoining its universal reception, and forbidding the slightest alterations, under pain of the most dreadful anathemas." So numerous were the errors in this edition, that it was recalled not long after its publication ; and another infallible head of the Church, Pope Clement VIII., prepared another, which, by a similar bull, he declared to be the standard version of orthodoxy. "Dr. James, in his *Bellum Papale*, notices two thousand variations, (in his comparison of those two editions,) some of whole verses, and many others clearly and decidedly contrary to each other." And yet they were both pronounced, *ex cathedrâ*, the work of the Holy Ghost ! Which of the diversities of gifts those ghostly fathers were indued with from on high, it is not easy to determine—to neither, however, could have been given, either the discerning of spirits, or the interpretation of tongues. "All the doctrines of Christianity," say the writers of the catechism of the Council of Trent, "are derived from the word of God—which includes Scripture and tradition ;" and, "if we would have the whole rule of Christian faith and practice, we must not be content with those Scriptures which Timothy knew from his infancy, that is, with the Old Testament alone ; nor yet with the New Testament, without taking along with it the traditions of the apostles, and

interpretation of the Church, to which the apostles delivered the book and the true meaning of it." It may be here marked in conclusion, that, "when a Papist speaks of the scriptures, he means thereby the Vulgate Latin edition, or the Latin and Rhemish translations, having the apocryphal books mingled with the rest. This is his Bible, and this, together with tradition, constitutes his rule of faith."

Notwithstanding the decrees of the council, and the summary of the IV., would seem to contain all that is necessary for a clergy of Rome to know, yet are there many tenets not embodied in those articles of faith which no Papist is permitted to deny, or even to doubt. There is no *Index Fidei* to which he refers, to determine even for himself what doctrines he believes, or what rites are enjoined by the Church for his observance. He, in fact, knows nothing, believes nothing, until the visible head of the Church has spoken.* His paramount allegiance, and sworn obedience to the Pope in all things, supersede the necessity of voluntary thought or action; he has, indeed, ceased to be a free agent, and has become a mere automaton. Only the law is dictated to him, but the construction of the law reposes in the breast of the spiritual legislator.

A dissentient from the Church of Rome has no data by which he can ascertain what that Church has determined to be orthodox.

The decrees of the Council of Trent, and the creed of the IV., have been expressed with such a vague ambiguity of language, subject to the interpretation of the reigning pontiff, that nothing can be certainly pointed out as authoritatively declared. "In the canons of that council," says Mosheim, "which relate to the doctrines of purgatory, of the invocation of saints, of the worship of images and relics, terms have been carefully chosen to avoid the imputation of idolatry, in the philo-

This is well illustrated by the anecdote related in explanation of the origin of the term *fides carbonaria*. A collier was asked what it was that he believed? He replied, "I believe what the Church believes." The inquirer rejoined, "What, then, does the Church believe?" The answer was, "The Church believes what I believe." To bring the questions to a point, he was asked, "What then is it which you and the Church both believe?" The collier, in the Popish faith, replied, "Why, truly, sir, the Church and I both—believe the same thing." In this summary is embraced the whole religious creed of a Catholic.

sophical sense of that word, for in the Scripture sense they cannot escape the charge." The use of images, in any form of devotion whatever, is expressly forbidden by God.

These remarks may be illustrated by the tenor of the several bulls which have from time to time been promulgated from the Vatican. That of Pope Clement XI., in the year 1713, known as the *Bull Unigenitus*, may be mentioned as an instance of the audacious impiety of the infallible head of the Church. In this, the pontiff dared to condemn one hundred and one propositions extracted from the New Testament, as false, and infected with the errors of Jansenism. So might the sacred Scriptures be proscribed in the whole, as being tainted with the principles and doctrines of Protestantism.

The Papal Church during this century was divided by the contending parties, who differed on many points, both of doctrines and rites. The Franciscans and Dominicans continued those controversies which commenced in the thirteenth century, and had never been entirely silenced. The Scotists and Thomists disputed on the nature of the divine co-operation with the human will, the measure of divine grace that is necessary to salvation, personal identity, and other intricate questions in theology, with the bitterness and obstinacy which characterized the discussions in the fourteenth century between the disciples of John Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas. The bishops manifested an unwillingness to submit implicitly to the high pretensions of the pontiffs, and to acquiesce in the denial of their divine right. This was more particularly the case with the French and Fleming divines. The halls of the theological schools and of the universities resounded with their debates on many of the leading doctrines of Christianity.

The Jesuits, soon after the institution of their Order, introduced their high-toned doctrines on Papal supremacy, and a new moral code, which occasioned interminable contentions in the Church. Hence arose those controversies: as to the extent of the jurisdiction of general councils, and of the authority of the popes, which had for centuries before, at different periods, agitated the internal peace of the Church; as to the infallibility of the Church in its judgments of matters of fact as well as of faith; on human ability to fulfill the law of God, on original sin, on eternal decrees, &c.; on the principles of morality, and the rules of

practice ; on the mysterious influence exerted over the soul by the reception of the consecrated elements in the Lord's Supper ; and on many other questions which, if not truly originating at this period, were revived with renewed zeal and animosity. In these several discussions the Protestant divines engaged with equal interest ; but the theologians of the Romish Church were not the less divided among themselves. It is indeed undeniable that the apparent unity of that Church has been preserved solely by the vigilance and the energy of that stern overpowering despotism which directs and controls its interests, and exacts an unwilling obedience to its mandates.

The persecution commenced against the inhabitants of Piedmont, simultaneously with that against the Waldenses in the southern provinces of France, in the year 1488, as has already been related. The Papal forces having overcome them by their numerical power, and driven into the recesses of the mountains, those who escaped the sword, were withdrawn ; and the inquisitors established, near Pignerol, a tribunal for the conviction and punishment of all whom their emissaries could succeed in apprehending. These afflicted people were hunted down, and cruelly harassed, until the year 1532. The unceasing persecutions, to which they were thus subjected for a series of years, compelled them to discontinue their forms of public worship, and to enjoy the exercises of religion in secrecy. In that year, however, they determined to re-establish their churches, and to preach the Gospel fearlessly. This procedure excited the indignation of the Romish priests, and by the persuasions of the inquisitor, the Archbishop of Turin, the Duke of Savoy, Charles III., (surnamed the Good) sent against them an army of five hundred men. Unprepared for resistance by the suddenness of the attack, the Vaudois were again expelled from the valleys, which were ravaged by the victorious troops, and, taking refuge in the mountains, armed themselves with slings and stones, and bravely defended the passes through which their invading foes attempted to pursue them. They succeeded in repelling the invaders, and at length drove them out of the valleys. The Duke of Savoy abandoned the enterprise, and left the suppression of heresy in Piedmont to the persevering zeal of the inquisitors.

Monsieur de Vignaux, who was forty years a pastor of a church in Piedmont, has given a noble testimony of the purity

of its faith at this period, and has furnished conclusive evidence that the Vaudois still maintained the doctrines of their ancestors, uncorrupted by Romish superstitions. Those witnesses of the truth have never compromised their principles; but have ever resisted even unto blood: submitting, when overcome, to be tortured, not accepting deliverance; and having no fellowship whatever with the works of darkness. "We live in peace and harmony one with another," says De Vignaux, "have intercourse and dealings chiefly among ourselves, having never mingled ourselves with the members of the Church of Rome by marrying our sons to their daughters, or our daughters to their sons. Yet they are so pleased with our manners and customs, that Catholics, both lords and others, would rather have men and maid servants from among us than from those of their own religion; and they actually come from distant parts to seek nurses among us for their little children, finding, as they say, more fidelity among our people than their own. We maintain that the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary for our salvation, and that we are called to believe only what they teach, without any regard to the authority of man; that nothing else ought to be received by us except what God has commanded; that there is only one mediator between God and man, and consequently that it is wrong to invoke the saints; that Baptism and the Lord's Supper are the only standing ordinances in the Church of Christ; that all masses are damnable, and ought to be abolished; that all human traditions are to be rejected; that the saying and recital of the office, fasts confined to particular days, superfluous holy-days, differences of meats, so many degrees and orders of priests, monks, and nuns, so many benedictions and consecrations of creatures, vows, pilgrimages, and the whole vast and confused mass of ceremonies, formerly invented, ought to be abolished. We deny the supremacy of the Pope, and more especially the power that he has usurped over the civil government; and admit of no other degrees than bishops and deacons. We contend that the See of Rome is the true Babylon; that the marriage of the clergy is lawful; and that the true Church of Christ consists of those who hear the word of God, and believe it."*

* See Jones' Church History.

The Duke of Savoy proposed to invite a conference of the divines, both of the Protestant and Papal Churches, on the subject of the religious differences which prevailed within his dominions. This was in the year 1535, when Francis I., with a view of compromising those differences, invited Melancthon to Paris. The Pope expressed his decided disapprobation of the measure; as a public discussion, he knew, would expose the fallacies of the Papal doctrines. He feared that other States would resort to the same expedient of reconciling discordant opinions, and that this might be fatal to the prerogative which he claimed of judging in all matters of religion. "If the heretics," he said to the duke's ambassadors, "stand in need of instruction, I will send divines and a legate, by whom they may be both instructed and absolved. Your master will find that they will lend a deaf ear to all the instructions that can be given them, and will put no other interpretation upon his conduct, but that he wants power to compel them to submit. No good effect was ever produced by that lenity which he inclines to exercise; but from experience he may learn, that the sooner he shall execute justice on these men, and make use of force to reduce them, the more certain will be his success: and if he will comply with the counsel which I offer, he shall receive from me such assistance as will enable him to carry it into execution." Not long after this, however, Charles refused a passage to the French troops through Savoy, and in consequence of this Francis seized a greater part of his dominions, which were not restored to the House of Savoy before the year 1559, when Emanuel Philibert married Margaret, the daughter of Francis.

Francis having acquired the sovereignty over Piedmont by conquest, governed its affairs by a Parliament at Turin. The reigning pontiff, Paul III., exerted his influence over that body for the extirpation of "those most pernicious heretics." The Vandois were accordingly seized without the form of law, and committed to the flames. They supplicated the king to interpose his authority, and arrest the persecution, but that bigoted monarch, not only disregarded their entreaties, but commanded them to renounce their religion, and to conform with the rites and forms of worship of the Romish Church, under the penalty, for their disobedience, of the punishments inflicted on heretics. "I have not," said Francis, "burnt the followers of Luther in

every part of France, to permit a nest of heretics to rest secure in the bosom of the Alps." The Parliament, thus sustained by the king, rigidly enforced the royal mandate, and ordered the Vaudois to dismiss their pastors, and to receive the Popish priests who were sent to them. They were resolute, however, in their adherence to their ancient faith, and replied to the Parliament, that, "in what regarded their religious worship, they could obey no commands which interfered with the laws of God, to whom they chose to be obedient in every thing that concerned his service, rather than to follow the fancies and inclinations of men."

The political affairs of France withdrew the attention of the king from the inhabitants of Piedmont; and the suppression of heresy was intrusted to the Parliament, with full authority to accomplish this object. The Parliament invested the inquisitorial tribunal with ample powers to execute the designs of Francis: and the instruments of destruction were at once in active operation throughout the valleys; and all who were seized were immediately committed to the flames. This process was continued, in most instances, with acts of the most horrid barbarity, throughout the reign of Francis. His son and successor, Henry II., who ascended the throne in 1547, was actuated by the most bitter feelings toward the Reformers generally, and the condition of his subjects in the valleys was not ameliorated at his accession. On the contrary, the spirit of persecution received a fresh impulse under his administration. In the year 1555, great numbers of the Vaudois were burnt in the castle-yard at Turin, and among them many of their most eminent and influential pastors. To give increased strength and vigor to the inquisitorial commission for the suppression of heretical pravity, a miscreant by the name of St. Julian, was appointed President of the holy office by the Parliament of Turin, and sent, with the king's authority, among the Piedmontese, to compel them to a conformity with the Romish worship, or to put them to death.

Accompanied by an assessor, he arrived at Perouse, and by proclamation called on the inhabitants to attend mass. They proceeded to Pignerol; and there, having assembled the people, he directed a monk to address them. This ecclesiastic, in a labored harangue, endeavored to persuade them to renounce their religion, and to return to the bosom of the Holy Mother Church,

expatiating largely on its great tenderness, and its solicitude for the salvation of souls. When he had concluded, the citizens of Pignerol requested that one of their pastors might be permitted to reply to the remarks of the monk ; but St. Julian, apprehensive of the consequences, refused. The popular dissatisfaction was expressed in such angry and menacing tones, that the emissaries of the Inquisition instantly retired, and returned precipitately to Turin.

The dauntless spirit of the Vaudois intimidated, not only the inquisitors, but the Parliament itself ; and they determined, as the work of destruction could be accomplished only by the king, to suspend their proceedings, and refer the matter to the throne. Had those oppressed and persecuted people bowed their necks to the arms of the executioner, and never resisted, even when driven to the utmost extremity by their destroyers, the religion of the valleys would, ages before, have been obliterated. The severe retaliation which they inflicted on their enemies, when driven to the fastnesses of the mountains, restrained the arm uplifted for their destruction ; for their pursuers well knew that beyond a certain point, resistance and dangers awaited their progress.

Henry issued his mandate, that all his subjects in Piedmont should attend mass under a penalty, for disobedience, of corporal punishment and the confiscation of property ; and St. Julian was again delegated to execute the inquisition of heresy. The Vaudois rejected the royal decree as contrary to the law of God, and requiring of them acts inconsistent with their spiritual duties. They were ordered to deliver at Turin twelve of their principal citizens, all their pastors, and their schoolmasters, as prisoners to the Parliament, and subject to its judgment ; which they refused to comply with. This exasperated the Parliament, and a commission was issued for seizing their persons, and inflicting on them the severest penalties for their contumacy and disobedience. The autos da fé were again kindled in the castle-ard of Turin, and numerous victims were sacrificed at the shrine of bigotry and superstition. Through the intercession of the German princes, with whom Henry was then in alliance, the persecution was arrested in the year 1557.

In the year 1559, France, England, and Spain concluded a

treaty of peace at Chateau-Cambresis ; and Philibert Emanuel recovered Piedmont by his marriage with Margaret, the daughter of Francis. On the 10th of July of that year, Henry II. died from a wound he had received at a tournament held in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and his son, Francis II., succeeded to the throne of France. Circumstances were now unfavorable to the Reformers within the influence of the French court, and great efforts were immediately made by the Popish ecclesiastics to renew the persecution in Piedmont. The inhabitants apprised of the intrigues and machinations secretly conducted for their destruction, addressed an humble petition to the Duke, in which they implored that prince not to condemn them before he had examined their case, and patiently listened to their defence. "We do protest," they said, "before the almighty and all-just God, before whose tribunal we must all one day appear, that we intend to live and die in the holy faith, piety, and religion of our Lord Jesus Christ ; and that we do abhor all heresies, that have been and are condemned by the word of God. We do embrace the most holy doctrine of the prophets and apostles, as likewise of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds ; we subscribe to the four councils, and to all the ancient fathers, in all such things as are not repugnant to the analogy of faith. We do most willingly yield obedience to our superiors ; we ever endeavor to live peaceably with our neighbors ; we have wronged no man, though provoked ; nor do we fear that any can, with reason, complain against us. We never were obstinate in our opinions, but rather tractable, and always ready to receive all holy and pious admonitions, as appears by our confessions of faith. And we are so far from refusing a discussion, or rather a free council, wherein all things may be established by the word of God, that we rather desire the same with all our hearts."

"We likewise," they continued, "beseech your highness to consider, that this religion we profess is not ours only, nor hath it been invented by man of late years, as it is falsely reported ; but it is the religion of our fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers, and other yet more ancient predecessors of ours, and of the blessed martyrs, confessors, prophets, and apostles ; and if any can prove the contrary, we are ready to subscribe thereunto. The word of God shall not perish, but remain for-

ver ; therefore, if our religion be the true word of God, as we are persuaded, and not the invention of men, no human force shall be able to extinguish it.

“Your highness knows, that this very same religion hath, for many ages past, been most grievously persecuted in all places ; but so far from being abolished and rooted out thereby, that it hath rather increased daily, which is a certain argument, that his work and counsel is not the work of men, but of God, and therefore cannot be destroyed by any violence. Therefore, we beseech your most serene highness to consider what it is to undertake any thing against God, that so you may not imbrue your hands in innocent blood ! Jesus is our Saviour ; we will religiously obey all your highness’ edicts, as far as conscience will permit ; but when conscience says nay, your highness knows, we must rather obey God than man. We unfeignedly confess, that we ought to give to Cæsar that which belongs to Cæsar, provided we give also to God what is due to him.

“There want not those who will endeavor to incite the generous mind and courage of your highness to persecute our religion by force of arms. But, O magnanimous prince, you may easily conjecture to what end they do it, that it is not out of zeal to God’s glory, but rather to preserve their own world-gnities, pomp, and riches ; therefore, we beseech your highness not to regard or countenance their sayings.

“The Turks, Jews, Saracens, and other nations, though never so barbarous, are suffered to enjoy their own religion, and are unconstrained by no man to change their manner of living and worship ; and we, who serve and worship in faith the true and Almighty God, and one true and only sovereign, the Lord Jesus, and confessing one God, and one baptism, shall not we be offered to enjoy the same privileges ?

“We humbly implore your highness’ goodness, and that for our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ’s sake, to allow unto us, your most humble subjects, the most holy Gospel of the Lord our God, in its purity ; and that we may not be forced to do things against our consciences ; for which we shall, with all our hearts, beseech our almighty and all-good God to preserve your highness in prosperity.”

This affecting appeal to the humanity and magnanimity of Philip, who was surnamed the Iron Hand, was answered by

the invasion of their retired and peaceful abodes. Four hundred men appeared in the Valley of Lucerna ; and immediately after, a disciplined army, under the command of the Count de la Trinite, attacked the village of Angrogna, and committed in their march many acts of violence and outrage on the unarmed and defenceless inhabitants. The Vaudois fled to the mountains, and possessing themselves of the passes, resolved to oppose the further progress of their enemies. The count was compelled to retreat ; and in a second attempt to drive them from their strongholds, he was repulsed with a loss of seventy men. Those who had in the mean time been overtaken and captured were treated with the most unfeeling severity. "The monks of the Abbey of Pignerol," says the continuator of Sleidan's history,* "which was seated in the entrance of the valley, on the other side, kept a parcel of soldiers in pay, and entrapping as many of those poor people as they could, as they passed to and fro, they used them very cruelly ; and some others of the nobility did the same thing. The pastor of Perouse was taken and burnt with a slow fire, together with many of his flock ; and the inhabitants, despoiled of all they had, were forced to flee to the mountains." Sixty of them were seized and sent to the galleys.

A reinforcement of men from Spain having increased the army to seven thousand, the count renewed the attack upon those who defended the passes of the mountains ; but every effort to dispossess them was unsuccessful. For four days in succession the assaults were repeated with the same unfavorable result to the assailants. In these several encounters, we are informed by the historian,† "two colonels, eight captains, and four hundred men, were slain. On the fifth day a fresh attack was made in three different quarters with the reserve, composed of some Spanish companies, but the post was not carried ; and upon the general commanding his troops to return again to the charge, they refused to obey. At the moment when they began to waver, the Vaudois saw the opportunity and made a sortie, which produced a universal panic and rout among the assailants. In the several fights nine hundred of the enemy were slain, whereas on our side hardly fifteen were wanting."

* Jones' Church History.

† Scipio Lenthalus, an eye-witness of the contest.

The general was compelled to abandon the enterprise, and consented that a petition be sent by them to the duke, "to permit them to live in peace: assuring him that nothing but utter ruin could have forced them to take arms against him, for which they humbly implored his highness' pardon; begging the liberty of their consciences, and that they might not be forced to submit to the traditions of the Church of Rome; but might, with his leave, enjoy the religion they had learned from their ancestors."

During the suspension of hostilities, however, the inhabitants were treated with the basest treachery by the soldiers, who plundered them of their goods. They were moreover fined eight thousand crowns, were compelled to deliver up their arms, and at length to dismiss their pastors. In addition to these injuries and insults, they received from the duke a promise of pardon upon the condition that they admit the mass, and implore forgiveness from the Pope's nuncio. With these unreasonable terms they complied, under the extreme circumstances of their condition. Their lives and property were at the mercy of an enraged soldiery, and their only alternative was submission or ruin. Such were the events at the close of the year 1560.

In the beginning of the next year a consultation was held, in which there appears to have been a full representation of the valleys, and it was there determined that "they would all join in a league to defend their religion, which they believed was agreeable to the word of God, professing in the mean time to obey their prince according to the command of God; and that they would, for the future, make no agreement or peace, but by common consent, in which the freedom of their religion should be saved."

On the following day they entered into the Church of Bobbio, and broke down the images and altars; and proceeding to Vilaro, they encountered a company of soldiers, whom they overcame and dispersed: and there, as at Bobbio, they destroyed all the vestiges of the Romish superstition. An army was again collected to oppose them. Seven thousand men entered the valleys, who burnt their towns and houses, and pursued the inhabitants to the mountains. In this renewed struggle for their religious liberties and the rights of conscience, the Vaudois united their efforts and fought with the utmost bravery and desperation. Victory crowned their arms in every engagement;

and they finally obtained concessions—wrung from Papal tyranny by the sword—which secured to them for a time the enjoyment of their religion and exemption from persecution. The fine which had been imposed upon them was remitted. An edict was published on the 5th of June, 1561, granting them “the privilege of holding their public assemblies in all the usual places, free from molestation; and ordering the restoration of their property which had been seized and confiscated, or ample compensation for their losses.”

These were but just concessions, as the Vaudois had not been the aggressors, and had acted in self-defence against an unprovoked and a barbarous invasion of their territories. But they had profaned the Popish sanctuaries by demolishing the objects of idolatrous worship, and had cast down the molten gods of Rome, and broken in pieces the images of Baal. The monks and other ecclesiastics prevailed over the liberal and tolerant disposition of the duke, and obtained from him in 1565 an edict, “enjoining every subject throughout his dominions, not conforming to the Church of Rome, to appear before the magistrates of their several districts, within ten days after its publication, and there, either declare their readiness to go to mass, or leave the country within two months.” The magistrates were at the same time required to make diligent inquiry of those who disobeyed the order, and to transmit their names to the government.

The Protestant princes of Germany once more interceded in behalf of those afflicted people. Frederick III., Elector-Palatine of the Rhine, whose court was an asylum to the French and Flemish refugees, addressed a letter to Emanuel Philibert, in which he said: “Let your highness beware of willfully fighting against God, and of persecuting Christ in his members; for though he may bear it for awhile, to try the patience of his saints, he will, nevertheless, in the end, chastise the persecutors of his churches and people with horrible punishments. Let not your highness suffer yourself to be abused by the persuasions of the Papists, who may probably promise you the kingdom of heaven, and eternal life, as a reward, in case you banish, imprison, and exterminate your subjects. But the infliction of cruelties, and inhuman actions, are not the highways to the kingdom of heaven—there must be some other found out. Your highness may see what success has attended the last forty years of per-

secution. What advantage have those who call themselves Catholics, derived from all the fires, swords, gibbets, prisons, tortures, and banishments which they have exercised in Germany, England, France, and Scotland? No; the history of both the Jews and the primitive Christians, abundantly shows that in the concerns of religion the power, authority, or severity of men avail nothing. The ashes of the martyrs are the seed of the Christian Church.

“ By the grace of God, evangelical truth now shines in such splendor, that the errors and deceits of the Bishop of Rome and all his clergy, are sufficiently known in a manner by all men; nor must the Pope think, henceforward, to abuse the world as he has done in former times. I therefore beseech your highness, whom I understand to be of a sweet and gentle disposition, that you lay these things to heart, and not further molest these poor people for the sake of their religion, nor refuse them the free exercise of it, but rather allow them the liberty of assembling in public for the worship and service of God; in doing which you will readily discover the falsehood of the charges brought against them by their adversaries, and have proof of their loyalty and obedience. Your highness is not ignorant what evils were brought upon France by their violence in banishing and persecuting the Christians there; what a flame was raised, which in a manner consumed the whole kingdom, and what ruin ensued—all which has been appeased by one single edict,* granting liberty of conscience; the result of which is, that the most entire peace and tranquillity reign among them, though they profess different forms of religion. The plain truth is, if your highness, out of complaisance to the Bishop of Rome, the cardinals, prelates, and others who are interested in the Roman religion, is resolved still to continue to persecute these poor people, you will unquestionably experience the same evils that have come upon other kingdoms. It is the height of injustice and misery, to be compelled to submit to the tyrannical yoke of the Bishop of Rome, and to be prohibited worshipping God according to his word.

“ Your highness may probably tell me, that our religion has been long condemned; but I ask, by whom, and how? By him

* Edict of January, 1561-2.

who has violated and corrupted all rights, human and divine ; making himself both party and judge : who has lately, at the Council of Trent, confirmed all his idolatries, and all the superstitions and abuses that have been introduced into the Church. Let your highness carefully examine the Holy Scriptures, and you will find this to be the case. Never suffer yourself to be deluded by those deceivers, who maintain their idolatries and superstitions merely to serve their own bellies, and that they may lead the lives of epicures.

"I therefore beseech your highness to give us a pledge of that esteem which you have for us, by delivering those poor people, which are now in the galleys, and recall those who have been recently banished by the Senate of Savoy, as you promised my Junius and myself, by your letters. Have compassion upon so many wandering exiles, deprived of all their property and effects.

"Do not render yourself an instrument to the Pope and his creatures, of gratifying their insatiable desires to spill the blood of Christians. Countenance not their cruelty and inhumanity against those who are in no wise perverse, but real Christians ; and who have nothing more at heart than to serve God purely and uprightly under your highness' government ; to whom they are ready to yield all that obedience and fidelity which is your due, and to lay themselves out (their property, their persons, and their lives, if necessity calls for them) for your service. The great and all-powerful God guide and govern your highness by his Holy Spirit, and preserve and defend you long in health and safety."

The intercession of the German Protestant princes, seconded by the duchess, a pious princess, influenced the mind of the Duke of Savoy, and happily averted that dreadful catastrophe by which Pius IV., through his emissaries, had designed to overwhelm the innocent Piedmontese. The storm was only arrested ; and in 1571 the lowering clouds again obscured the horizon. The Papists never ceased to urge upon the duke the obligations of his faith to extirpate heresy ; and exerted all their influence in persuading him to renew the persecution. In these efforts they were zealously supported by the governor, Castrocara, who entertained toward the Vaudois a bitter and an implacable hatred. A bloody civil war was then desolating the fair pro-

vinces of France ; and Emanuel Philibert, a prince of military genius, and devoted to the exercise of arms, was nearly allied to the reigning family in that kingdom.* The bigotry of that court, then under the influence of the queen-mother, the infamous Catharine of Medicis, consonant with his own religious opinions, may be supposed to have biassed his feelings, were he disposed to tolerate the Reformed doctrines within his dominions. But he was uncompromising in the tenets of his faith, and therefore was easily persuaded to unite in a league against the Protestants. Accordingly, in 1571, he issued a sanguinary edict against the Vaudois, by which they were prohibited from holding any correspondence with the Protestants in Dauphiny, and other southern provinces of France—for ages back known as Waldenses, but at that time distinguished by the title of Huguenots—and from assembling, within the valleys, in any synod or council, except in the presence of the governor, Castrocara. He was, however, again diverted from his bloody purposes by the solicitations and the pious influences of the duchess.

On the 24th of August, 1572, occurred the dreadful massacre of the Huguenots in France. When Castrocara received information of the scenes which had been exhibited on that occasion, his Popish zeal was excited to the highest degree ; and anxiously awaiting the orders of the duke to commence the work of carnage in Piedmont, he made every preparation for a thorough and effectual slaughter of its inhabitants. The Vaudois, alarmed by the menacing attitude of this blood-thirsty monster fled to the mountains, with their wives and children ; carrying with them whatever goods they were able to transport. They were again rescued from the impending danger, through the merciful providence of God, by the pious and humane intercession of the duchess.

In the year 1574, this amiable, and truly Christian princess died ; and in 1580, the duke, who was succeeded by his son, Charles Emanuel, surnamed the Great. The Popish priests, flattering themselves that they would be loosed from their leashes, now plumed their wings ; and with erected crests, were poising in mid-air, awaiting the signal when they should make

* He was the nephew of Louisa, mother of Francis I., and had married Margaret, the aunt of Charles IX., then on the throne of France.

the fatal swoop upon their prey. They renewed their efforts with the young duke; persuaded him that his subjects in Piedmont had taken the oath of fidelity to the King of France; and succeeded, by their misrepresentations, in obtaining from him a promise that he would extirpate the Protestant Churches within his dominions. The Vaudois, discovering in time, the artifices that had been used to prejudice the mind of their sovereign, appointed deputies, who waited on him at Villaro, and assured him of their loyalty and attachment, and implored his protection and favor. Emanuel replied, by declaring to them, that as long as they were faithful he would regard them with kindness and parental affection; "As to your liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of your religion," he said, "I shall be so far from introducing any innovations into those liberties which you have enjoyed to the present time, that if any offer to molest you, have recourse to myself, and I shall effectually relieve and protect you."

With this guaranty of protection, the Vaudois held a general assembly of the heads of families, and adopted *the Articles of the Union of the Valleys*. By these they bound themselves, "by solemn ties, to persevere in their religious faith; to continue to give obedience to their prince when his orders were not contrary to their conscience; and to render to each other assistance in times of persecution."

The Vaudois enjoyed, with little interruption, their religious privileges, from this period to the beginning of the seventeenth century. With the commencement of that century, however, began an era of persecution and suffering, the history of which shall be introduced in its appropriate place.

NOTE.—The history of the severe and relentless persecutions to which the Vaudois were subjected, from the commencement of the seventeenth century, will be deferred to the third volume of this work. This arrangement has been adopted, not only in consideration of the intimate connection which existed between the kingdom of France and the dukedom of Savoy, and the simultaneous persecutions which were carried on against the Huguenots in the one, and the inhabitants of the valleys under the government of the other; but also to avoid an interruption in the connected narrative of events, having an intimate relation to the religious movements in England, Scotland, and the Netherlands. Although the Reformation may be considered as firmly established in Great Britain in the reign of Elizabeth, religious liberty and the right of conscience were not fully recognized before the accession of William and Mary. With that period, therefore, the present volume will be concluded.

CHAPTER XI.

THE negation of the Pope's authority in England was the act of the king ; and by statute 37 Henry VIII., chap. 17, the king was declared "to have always been, *by the word of God*, supreme head of the Church of England ;" and archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, were said to have no manner of jurisdiction but by his royal mandate. "To him alone, and such persons as he shall appoint," the statute further declared, "full power and authority is given, *from above*, to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices and sins whatsoever." In the exercise of these high spiritual prerogatives, the concurrence of neither a convocation nor a Parliament was required. By another statute of the realm it was enacted, that his usual style should be, "King of England, France and Ireland, *Defender of the Faith*, and, on earth, the Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland." His spiritual supremacy was fully recognized, and practically enforced, when all the bishops took out new commissions from the crown, by which they acknowledged that all their spiritual and episcopal authority was derived from the king alone, and was dependent upon his good pleasure. "Thus," says Dr. Mitchell, in his Presbyterian Letters to Bishop Skinner, "were they made the king's ministers, or lieutenants."

"The Archbishop of Canterbury is the first peer of the realm, and hath precedence not only before all the other clergy, but also (next and immediately after the blood-royal) before all the nobility of the realm ; and as he hath the precedence of all the nobility, so also of all the great officers of state." "The Archbishop of York hath precedence over all dukes not being of the royal blood, as

also before all the great officers of state, except the Lord Chancellor." (Blackstone.)

The convocation, or ecclesiastical council of the kingdom, consists, as the Parliament does, of two distinct houses. The upper, composed of the archbishop and bishops, corresponds with the House of Lords; the lower, of the deputies of the inferior clergy, bears a similitude to the House of Commons. But the convocation cannot assemble except by a royal writ; nor can it make any canons, or ecclesiastical laws, without the king's license; neither has it now the power of imposing taxes on the clergy,* this being vested in the House of Commons. It has had but a nominal existence since the year 1665.

The substitution, in the reign of Henry VIII., of the supremacy of the king for that of the Pope, which was in fact the only essential change in the ecclesiastical polity of the nation, was an act of the government. Neither in a moral nor in a religious point of view was this a reform. The government of the Church was new-modelled, but its rites and doctrines were unchanged. The king was entitled, by statute 36 Henry VIII., "Defender of the Faith;" but this distinction had already been conferred upon him by Leo X.; and the *faith* which he defended throughout his reign was that of Rome. The Church of England differed from the Church of Rome in one important feature only—in the former, the king was the supreme head, the fountain and source of all ecclesiastical preferments, and of all spiritual prerogatives, privileges and dignities, and "to the imperial crown were annexed as well the title and style as all jurisdictions, authorities and commodities to the said dignity of the supreme head of the Church appertaining," (Stat. 26 Henry VIII., chap. 1;) in the latter, the Pope was the *Pontifex Maximus*, and, *jure divino*, the true and spiritual head, as the undoubted and veritable successor of St. Peter. Each, it will be observed, assumed to be invested by divine right. The Anglican Church was—this feature excepted—the Romish Church without a Pope.

In a political point of view—and it was by this only that the reigning monarch of England was actuated—Henry had an undoubted right to renounce the Papal authority, and to institute a new ecclesiastical government within his dominions, "laying its

* This power was voluntarily conceded to the Commons in the year 1664.

foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form," as seemed most likely to effect the spiritual independence of his kingdom, "when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object," had reduced it under the absolute despotism of a foreign potentate.

The Anglican Church, thus severed from the Papal Hierarchy by the government, (or king and Parliament,) and made a part of the civil institutions of the nation, necessarily partook of the political, as well as of the ecclesiastical character; and as all civil offices were derived from the crown, the clerical orders became equally dependent upon it. Hence it was that the bishops, acknowledging the king as their supreme spiritual head, surrendered to the crown their episcopal commissions, and received from the hands of a lay sovereign new investitures of office. Such was the anomalous character of the Anglican Church during the reign of Henry VIII. It was disowned by the Papal party, for having been withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, and by reason of the exclusion of its bishops from the ancient line of apostolic succession; while its Popish doctrines, its ceremonies, and forms of worship precluded its association with the Reformed Churches on the continent.*

The accession of Edward VI. to the throne of his father, in 1547, forms a memorable epoch in the history of the Church; and, indeed, in his reign most properly may be said to have commenced the Reformation in England. This young prince

* "The king," says Villers, "gave an Episcopal Constitution to the Church, in which, with little more exception than the monks, whose possessions he seized, the ancient edifice of the hierarchy remained almost entire, and in which he very closely and very despotically acted the part of the sovereign pontiff. This was doing either too much or too little. The universal crisis did not admit of half measures. The German Reform had found many partisans in England, and a considerable number of minds were devoted to it. The greater part of them were discontented to find their attempt frustrated, and made very little difference between the Catholics and the Episcopalians." "The determined Protestants, as well as the Catholics, became sworn enemies to the Episcopalians, and to the government which supported them." "If Henry had prudently adopted Luther's reform, and his successors had persisted in it, the island would probably have remained as tranquil as Sweden and Denmark did in the end." (Prize Essay.) This equivocal character thus impressed upon the Anglican Church by its supreme head, in its early organization, is exhibited even at the present day, by the strong predilection of a large portion of its clergy in favor of Romanism.

was ten years of age when Henry died; and agreeably to the will of that monarch, he was placed under the guardianship of sixteen executors, noblemen and gentlemen, who were thus constituted governors of the kingdom. These were assisted by the counsel of twelve noblemen. This species of oligarchy was not congenial with the form of the government, nor the spirit of the nation. This system was therefore departed from immediately after the demise of the late king; and Sir Edward Seymour, the Earl of Hertford, the maternal uncle of Edward, was appointed governor of the young king's person, and Protector of the kingdom. Lord Wriothlesley, the chancellor, was ordered to renew the commissions of the judges and justices of the peace.

The elevation of Hertford, who was soon after created Duke of Somerset, to the Protectorship, occasioned a division in the council. Wriothlesley, as chancellor, had claimed a precedence before all other officers under the crown. He was elevated to the peerage, with the title of Earl of Southampton. These two noblemen were the leaders of the two parties. The Protector favored the Reformation; his opponent discountenanced all further innovations in religion.

Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, petitioned the council to restore him to his ecclesiastical jurisdiction; "*for*," he said, *it had proceeded from the crown, and therefore had expired with the late king.*" All offices, civil as well as ecclesiastical, were declared to be vacant by reason of the king's death, and those who had held them were required to appear, and have their respective commissions renewed, and to swear allegiance to the new sovereign. "The bishops," says Hume, "were constrained to make a like submission. Care was taken to insert in their new commissions, that they held their offices *during pleasure*, and it is there expressly affirmed, that all manner of authority and jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil, is originally derived from the crown."

The chancellor, that he might have more leisure to attend to the public business and to the accomplishment of his own private designs, had granted a commission to the master of the rolls, and three masters in chancery—two of them civilians—to execute, in his stead, the duties of his office in the Court of Chancery; and, in conformity with a decision of the judges, was declared

the council to have forfeited the great seal. The removal of the officer from power strengthened the Protector's party, and secured the Popish interest with the government. The king was placed under the instruction of those who were known to be zealously attached to the principles of the Reformation; and the early development of his mental powers, his assiduity for literary pursuits—particularly for theological questions—and his decided bias in favor of the Protestant doctrines, combined in giving a vigorous impulse to the Reformed faith. Long were the interests now united for its permanent establishment in the nation, that the number of its new adherents usually increased; and the innovations in the established religion were successfully accomplished. These changes, however, were carried on by the Protector—with the advice of the privy council—with cautious circumspection, and in a spirit of tolerance and of moderation. He judiciously preferred measures of gradual reformation, as leading more certainly to a safe permanent system of spiritual worship, than a hasty and impetuous zeal in the abrogation of ancient forms and ceremonies, and the overthrow of deeply-rooted prejudices and superstitions. "He seems," says Hume, "to have intended the establishment of a hierarchy, which, being suited to a great and absolute government, might stand as a perpetual barrier against the growth of a new religion, and might retain the reverence of the people, even after enthusiastic zeal was diminished, or entirely evaporated." The Church, as an ecclesiastical body, appears to have been almost entirely quiescent in all the measures adopted by the government; and "many of the bishops," says Keightley, "were, if not actually, at least lukewarm in this matter; and as they had, at the time, acknowledged that they held their sees at the royal pleasure, an easy mode of proceeding against them presented itself." The privy council of the king, having been in the last session invested, by act of Parliament, "with the same authority as he was under age that he himself had at full age," determined to have a general visitation made in all the dioceses of England. The commission embraced lay as well as clerical persons, and "before they were sent out," says Fox, "a letter was written to all the bishops, giving them notice of it, suspend-

* Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 405.

ing their jurisdiction while it lasted, and requiring them to preach no where but in their cathedrals, and that the other clergy should not preach but in their own churches, without license." While it was found necessary and politic, on the one hand, to restrain the intemperate zeal of the Reformers, so, on the other, "nothing required more the correcting hand of authority, than the abuse of preaching, which was now generally employed throughout England in defending the ancient practices and superstitions." (Hume.) The council intended by these measures to control the popular feeling; and as they could restrict, within the prescribed limits, the influence of those prelates and other clergy adverse to the Reformation, they could, at the same time, by their licenses, extend the sphere of preaching to those who advocated it, as policy and prudence might dictate.

The visitors were enjoined to examine into the moral and religious state of the churches, and to correct such abuses, and to suppress such superstitious practices, as the purity of divine worship demanded. Orders were accordingly given by them that a Bible should be provided for every church, and an English translation of Erasmus' Paraphrase of the New Testament. Twelve homilies* were prepared for the better instruction of the people in the terms of salvation as communicated by the sacred Scriptures. They provided for a strict observance of the regulations made by Cromwell in the preceding reign, "for reading the Scriptures, saying the Litany in English, preaching the word in purity, catechising, removing, with caution, images and other objects of Popish idolatry, punishing simoniacal offences, observing more rigidly the Sabbath day, &c." "Direction was also given by them for the saying of prayers, in which the king, as supreme head, the queen, and the king's sisters, the protector and council, and all orders of persons in the kingdom, were to be mentioned."

The Princess Mary, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and

* This term is derived from the Gr. *Omilia*, a familiar discourse, and corresponds with the Lat. *Sermo*. The practice of compiling homilies commenced in the reign of Charlemagne. Hence the collection entitled the *Homiliarium*. The English Book of Homilies, of which those alluded to in the text were the first, were designed to teach the true doctrines of Protestantism and of the Bible.

Bonner, Bishop of Hereford, viewed these innovations with undissembled aversion. The princess would never renounce her ancient faith, nor could she be induced to withdraw from the strict observance of the Popish rites, and superstitious forms of worship. Bonner, at first, gave but a qualified assent to the measures of reform prescribed and enforced by the government. He was summoned before the council, and, unwillingly however, retracted his exceptions. Notwithstanding this subsequent act of obedience, he was committed to prison. Gardiner more peremptorily refused a compliance, and pointed out to the council his objections to the homilies and to the paraphrase of Erasmus. He dissented from the doctrine affirmed in the former, that charity did not justify. He was sent to the Fleet for contumacy. Cranmer visited him in his confinement, and endeavored to impress upon him the scriptural doctrine of justification by faith alone. Gardiner insisted "that the sacraments justified, and that charity justified as well as faith."* Cranmer, on the other hand, urged, "that nothing but the merits of Christ justified, as they were applied by faith, which," he stated, "could not truly exist without charity." Faith is certainly "the love of God shed abroad in the heart," and is the only true foundation of benevolence, and whatever holy affections may be implanted in the breast by the influences of the Divine Spirit. Tonsal, Bishop of Durham, one of the late king's executors, and a member of the council, was deprived of his place in consequence of his opposition to the measures of reform.

A war with Scotland, which arose altogether from the political designs of the Protector, who desired to effect a union of the two kingdoms by the marriage of Edward with Mary, the daughter of James V., commenced in September of this year (1547); and the English obtained a decided victory at the battle of Pinkey. The Protector was, notwithstanding, frustrated in his object; as in the following year the princess was sent to France, and in 1559 she married Francis II.

Immediately after the return of Somerset to England, a Parliament was summoned, which convened on the 4th of November. At the same time a convocation assembled.

* "A famous martyrologist called Gardiner, for this opinion, an insensible ass, and one that had no feeling of God's Spirit, in the matter of justification." (Hume.)

Many salutary laws were passed during this session. "Among them was that which repealed all laws extending the crime of treason beyond the statute 1 Edw. VI., c. 12; all laws, enacted during the late reign, extending the crime of felony; all the former laws against Lollardy or heresy, together with the statute of the six articles." The writ *de hæretico comburendo*, at common law, remained in force, and in the 17th Elizabeth it was enforced against two Anabaptists, and in the 9th James I. against two Arians. Nor was it abolished before 29 Car. II., when, by statute, heresy was again subjected only to ecclesiastical correction *pro salute animæ*. That law giving to the king's proclamation the validity of a statute was repealed. The regal prerogative of annulling all laws enacted before the four and twentieth year of his age, was modified as to its prospective operations.

"Another act was passed," says Fox, "five bishops only dissenting, for the laity receiving the sacrament in both kinds, and that the people should always communicate with the priest." It was further provided by that statute, that whoever reviled the sacrament of the Lord's Supper shall be punished by fine and imprisonment. All who denied the king's supremacy, or asserted the Pope's, for the first offence, were declared to have forfeited their goods, and punishable by imprisonment during pleasure; for the second, to have incurred a *præmunire*; and for the third, to have been guilty of treason."

"Another act was passed," without any dissent, "ordaining, that the *congé d'elire*, and the election pursuant to it, should cease for the future, and that bishops should be named by the king's letters patent, and thereupon be consecrated." This statute declares in its preamble—"that elections (under statute 25 Hen. VIII., c. 20, which it repealed) are in very deed no elections; but only by a writ of *congé d'elire* have colors, shadows, or pretences of election." "This," says Blackstone, "is certainly good sense. For the permission to elect where there is no power to reject, can hardly be reconciled with the freedom of election." This statute of Edward was itself repealed by 1 Ma. stat. 2, c. 20. The bishops were prohibited from holding their courts but in the king's name, and not in their own—the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury alone being excepted—and were required to use the king's seal in all their

writings, except in presentations, collations, and letters of orders.

Such were some of the statutory provisions of the first Parliament which convened in the reign of Edward VI., for promoting the reformation of religion in England, and rendering the Church still more dependent upon the crown. Bishoprics became mere donatives of the king, or benefices given and collated to a person, by the patron, without either presentation, institution, or induction by the ordinary. Their spiritual character seems to have been almost wholly effaced, and merged in that of the mere civil offices under the crown. "The members of that Parliament," says Hume, "discovered in general a very passive disposition with regard to religion; some few appeared zealous for the Reformation—others secretly harbored a strong propensity to the Catholic faith; but the greater part appeared willing to take any impression which they should receive from interest, authority, or the reigning fashion."

"The convocation," says the same writer, "met when the Parliament was convened; and as it was found that their debates were at first cramped by the rigorous statute of the six articles, the king granted them a dispensation from that law before it was repealed by Parliament. The lower house of convocation applied to have liberty of sitting with the Commons in Parliament; or—if this privilege were refused them, which they claimed as their ancient right—they desired that no law regarding religion might pass in Parliament without their consent and approbation. But the principles which now prevailed were more favorable to the civil than to the ecclesiastical power, and this demand of the convocation was rejected." This ancient right, however, has not been universally admitted by learned commentators on the English Constitution; and Hallam affirms that although the lower house of convocation, terrified at the progress of reformation, at this period petitioned that, according to the ancient customs of the realm they might be associated with the Commons as members, there is, notwithstanding, nothing that appears on the records which proves that the clergy had ever been associated as one body with the Commons.

The King's Council assumed to itself the responsibility of proceeding in other measures of reform, and many superstitious

observances were abolished by its authority. The images were removed from the churches. The use of candles on Candlemas day, in honor of the purification of the Virgin Mary; and of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, or the first day of Lent,* was prohibited; as also of palm-branches on Palm-Sunday,† or the Sunday before Easter. Creeping to the cross, and taking holy bread and water, were forbidden; and, with a view of carrying on the work of reformation, the Archbishop of Canterbury was empowered by the council to certify, in the king's name, what ceremonies should from time to time be laid aside.

Private masses were abolished by law; and it was found necessary, after the numerous changes in the rites and ceremonies of the Church had been accomplished, to prepare a new communion service, and to introduce it under the sanction of the royal authority; and to provide also for a revision and amendment of the liturgy. In the administration of the Lord's Supper many unmeaning rites, derived from the ignorance and superstition of past ages, had been established. The office itself was in an unknown tongue; the vessels and garments belonging to it were consecrated with a mockery of devotion; every thing was done to add a pomp and a solemnity to the whole pageantry. The communion service had been in fact divested of all spirituality, and even of the appearances of a divine institution. Masses were said for all the affairs of life. On saint's days, in the mass, prayers were offered up at the sacred altar, that, by the saint's intercession, the sacrifice, as the eucharist was termed, might be made more acceptable, and might procure for the communicant a more ample indulgence. A custom had been introduced of having thirty masses in the year, on the principal festivals—called *Trentals*—for redeeming souls out of purgatory. These were most profitable to the officiating priests, as customers were more numerous on days believed to be peculiarly favorable for obtaining acceptance with God. In new-modelling this service, auricular confession was left optional with the

* The term Lent is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Lencten*, or Spring. This was a time of solemn fasting, comprising forty days before Easter, in commemoration of the fasting of our Saviour in the wilderness.

† This festival was intended to commemorate the triumphal entry of Christ into Jerusalem.

communicant. The ceremonies used in the consecration of the elements were, however, left in their ancient form ; and the entire change which was at this time made in the communion service was sanctioned by the council, and its observance enjoined upon all.

But the most important measure was the compilation of the Liturgy. A committee of bishops and other divines, under the direction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, were appointed by the council for this purpose. This was accomplished in the year 1549, subsequent to that in which the changes in the communion-service had been made. In the composition of this first Liturgy of Edward VI., it was determined to introduce no greater innovations than such as appeared essentially necessary for a simplicity in the form of worship, retaining so much of the ancient rites as were supposed to be not wholly incompatible with the system of reform then established.

It was resolved that the whole worship should be performed in the vulgar tongue. "Absolutions on account of the merits of the blessed Virgin and the saints, the consecrations of water, salt, &c., the sprinklings of water, fastings, pilgrimages, absolution given to dead bodies, prayers to the saints, were abolished." "The Morning and Evening Prayers were put in the form in which they now stand in the Book of Common Prayer, except that there was neither confession nor absolution. In the office for the communion, there was a commemoration of thanksgiving for the blessed Virgin and all departed saints, and they were commended to God's mercy and peace. In the consecration, the use of crossing the elements was retained, but there was no elevation. No stamp was required on the bread ; and it was put in the mouths of the communicants by the priests. In baptism, the child's head and breast were crossed, and the devil was adjured to depart from him. The sick might be anointed if they wished : and at funerals, the departed soul was recommended to God's mercy." Such were the outlines of the rites and ceremonies adopted by the committee of divines in the new liturgy ; and these constituted the principal difference between it and the Missal of the Romish Church. By statute 2 and 3 Edw. VI., c. 1, Parliament adopted this compilation as the standard of divine worship. Eight bishops and three temporal lords pro-

tested against it.* It was enacted, however, that if any person refused to comply with the ordinances therein prescribed, he should be imprisoned six months for the first offence; be deprived of his benefice for the second; and for the third, be imprisoned during life. By the same Parliament, all the laws, prohibiting the clergy from marrying, were unconditionally repealed.

Much had been done by the council in the work of religious reform, but there still remained in the Church many vestiges of its ancient corruption. The Protector determined, however, by the strong arm of the government to carry out the measures he had commenced, and by well-timed and judicious innovations to engraft upon it the pure principles of Protestantism as deduced from the sacred Scriptures themselves. As yet nothing had been done in reference to the fundamental doctrines of the Church. The belief of the real presence was deeply rooted in the minds of the people; and the priests were disposed to retain a superstition which attached miraculous powers to their offices, and an extraordinary sanctity to their character. The new forms of worship established, and the abolition of ancient rites closely connected with the administration of the sacrament, had discountenanced, but not condemned, the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Penances were still so far enjoined, that fasting at Lent, and at other times of abstinence, as prescribed by the Romish Church, was strictly commanded. Severe penalties were imposed on those who indulged in the use of meats in seasons of fastings; but they were permitted to feast on fish exquisitely dressed, and to enjoy rich wines without restriction.

Another visitation of the churches was ordered. These commissioners began to assume an inquisitorial character. In April, 1549, the Archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates and laymen, were directed to take cognizance of Anabaptists, heretics, and contemners of "The Book of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church of England." Such was the title of the new liturgy.

* Notwithstanding these dissenting voices, the work was said to have been done, "by one uniform agreement"—"by the aid of the Holy Ghost!"

"The commissioners," says Hume, "were enjoined to reclaim them if possible, to impose penance on them, and to give them absolution; or, if these criminals were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the secular arm: and in the execution of this charge, they were not bound to observe the ordinary methods of trial; the forms of law were dispensed with, and if any statutes happened to interfere with the powers in the commission, they were overruled and abrogated by the council." Many persons were arrested, who, upon a recantation of their doctrines, were punished by being compelled to carry fagots. Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, was arraigned for maintaining that "Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh being sinful he could take none of it; but the Word, by the consent of the inward man in the Virgin, took flesh of her." She was imprisoned for twelve months, and every argument that suggested itself was used to obtain her recantation. The youthful king refused to give his assent to her condemnation. Cranmer, however, was importunate and persevering. He urged upon Edward the difference between errors in other points of divinity, and those which were in direct contradiction to the Apostles' Creed. "These latter," he said, "were impieties against God; which he, as the head of the Church, and God's deputy, ought to repress, in like manner as inferior magistrates were bound to punish offences against the king's person." Edward, with tears in his eyes, signed the warrant for the execution; and the archbishop ordered her to be committed to the flames. By the severe enforcement of the law against all charged with the offences set forth in the commission to the visitors, an apparent, if not a real conformity with the established rituals of the Church prevailed throughout the kingdom. The Princess Mary alone persisted in observing the abrogated forms.

In the course of this year the peace of the nation was disturbed by insurrections in Norfolk and in Devonshire. The causes of discontent were partly of a civil character, but among the grievances complained of the insurgents advanced their opposition to the innovations in religion, and insisted that "the mass be restored, the six articles executed, and holy water and holy bread respected." In Norfolk, a tanner by the name of Ket, assumed the command of the armed populace. He ruled the forces under his authority with a stern despotism. He

erected his tribunal under an old oak, near Norwich, which was thence called the Oak of Reformation, and issued his decrees in the character of a sovereign. His army was soon after vanquished and dispersed. He was hanged at Norwich castle, and nine of his adherents were suspended from the branches of the oak.

There arose not long after these occurrences, and in the close of the year, a general dissatisfaction under the government of the Protector. His authority was opposed, and he was compelled to resign his office. Admiral Viscount Lisle, one of the executors of the late king, created Earl of Warwick, was invested with the chief control over the council, as earl-marshal. Somerset was degraded, but afterward reinstated in the council of regency. This change was acceptable to the Papal party.

Parliament convened on the 4th of November. The bishops presented a remonstrance to that body, in which they complained of the retrenchment of their prerogatives, and of the encroachments upon their spiritual authority by the civil courts. In consequence of this limitation of their powers, and the suspension of the canon laws, they said, they could summon no offender before them, punish no vice, nor could they exert the discipline of the Church. "The design of some," says Hume, "was to revive the penitentiary rules of the primitive Church: but others thought that such an authority, committed to the bishops, would prove more oppressive than confession, penance, and all the clerical inventions of the Romish superstition." Parliament made some provision for a new compilation of the canon laws, but the novel powers demanded by the prelates were not conceded to them.*

Warwick disappointed the expectation of the Papists. He discovered that the king was zealously attached to the principles of the Reformation, and he determined, whatever his own sentiments may have been, to pursue the measures acceptable to the throne. The council, therefore, persevered in that course they had adopted, and executed with unabated rigor the laws against Romanism. "Several prelates," says the same historian, "were

* A bill was read, enlarging their authority, which was passed by the House of Lords, but it was rejected by the Commons. (Fox.)

still addicted to that communion; and though they made some compliances, in order to save their bishoprics, they retarded, as much as they safely could, the execution of the new laws, and gave countenance to such incumbents as were neglected or refractory. A resolution was therefore taken, to seek pretences for depriving those prelates; and the execution of this intention was the more easy, as they had, all of them, been obliged to take commissions, in which it was declared that they held their sees *during the king's pleasure only.*"

A law was passed during this session of Parliament, providing for the institution of a new form of ordination; and to effect this, six bishops and six other clergymen were appointed to prepare one, which being confirmed under the great seal, should be introduced into the Church by the royal authority.

The committee recommended a form divested of many of the unmeaning rites and ceremonies, long before introduced into the Romish Church, and still observed in the Church of England. In ordaining a priest, agreeably to this new institution, the bishop laid one hand upon his head, and with the other he gave him a Bible, and a chalice having bread in it. In the consecration of a bishop, the form was the same as that now observed, except that a staff was given to him, with these words: "Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd." This was the first ordination service adopted in the reign of Edward VI., and all the churches in the realm were ordered to conform with it, after the month of April, 1550. All the books of the old offices were called in, and at the same time, the counsel directed that all prayers to saints should be struck out of the books of devotion, published by the late king. (Fox.)

Martin Bucer, of Strasburg, had been invited to England by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1549. Apartments were assigned to him in the University of Cambridge, and a salary was secured to him, as teacher of Theology. He was one of the most distinguished Reformers of the age; not only for his eminent piety and literary acquirements, but for his lucid exposition of the Scriptures, and his zeal in the propagation of the Protestant doctrines. He coincided with Zwingle on the nature of Christ's presence in the eucharist. He won the esteem of the youthful king; and, doubtless, contributed much to the spiritual instruction of that monarch, and to the extension of the Reformed

principles in England. Peter Martyr, or Vermigli, was at the same time Professor of Theology at Oxford. He was an able and a zealous advocate of the religious tenets, advanced by Calvin in his celebrated institutes of the Christian Religion; and through his influence, the theological system of the Church of Geneva was received in England as a rule of faith. These two distinguished theologians exerted, at this period, a salutary influence in the progress of events in that kingdom; and aided directly by their counsels in the organization of the Church in its rites and doctrines.

Such had been the advance of the Reformed principles in England, in the year 1550, that it was then evident the rituals of the Church contained too many vestiges of the ancient superstitions, and were incompatible with the more enlightened and spiritual views of the nation. Public sentiment demanded a revision of the work, but recently accomplished, and a further amendment in the established forms of divine worship. In the course of the following year a revisal and alteration of the Book of Common Prayer were made. Archbishop Cranmer invited Bucer and Martyr to assist in the undertaking. Bucer had suggested many changes in the liturgy, which he believed essential to a purer system of worship. He recommended a different phraseology, in administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as the expressions then used countenanced the doctrine of transubstantiation. He thought "the hallowing the water, the chrism, and the white garment worn by the priests," partook too much of a dramatic exhibition. He disapproved of adjuring the devil, of the godfather's answering in the child's name, &c.

Latin versions of the liturgy were prepared for them, as they were unacquainted with the English language. The subject of doctrines was postponed, until the changes which had been proposed to be made in the forms of worship were completed. Cranmer maintained that the corruptions in the worship should be first abolished; "since while they remained," he said, "the addresses to God were so defiled that all people were involved in unlawful compliances. Speculative opinions might be reformed last, since errors in them were not of such ill consequence." The alterations in the liturgy consisted in the addition of the *Confession* and *Absolution*, which, with the *Sentences*, were placed at the beginning of the morning and evening ser-

ices; "so that the worship of God might begin with a grave and humble confession; after which, a solemn declaration of the mercy of God, according to the terms of the Gospel, be pronounced by the priest." In the first Common Prayer Book, the services commenced with the recital of the Lord's Prayer. The commandments, with a short devotion between them all, were directed to be recited at the beginning of the communion-office. Many of the rites and ceremonies received in the former compilation were now excluded. The invocation of the Holy Ghost and the use of the cross, in the consecration of the eucharist—the oil, or chrism, which is used both in the Greek and the Roman Churches, in the administration of baptism, confirmation, ordination, and extreme unction—prayers for souls departed, both in the communion-office, and in that for the burial of the dead—the priestly habits prescribed—the mixing of the wine with water—expressions in the former edition which favored transubstantiation—were severally abolished. A rubric was added to the office of the communion, declaring, that the ceremony of kneeling at the eucharist (which was not practised in the Papal Church before that sacrament was declared to be a propitiatory sacrifice) was but an expression of reverence, and not an act of adoration of the elements;* as the Church had abjured the doctrine of transubstantiation, or the real presence.

The Liturgy having been revised and amended, the bishops and clergy, assisted by Bucer and Martyr, drew up a summary of their faith, consisting of forty-two articles. This was done in obedience to an order of the regal council, which directed Archbishop Cranmer "to draw up a Book of Articles for preserving and maintaining peace and unity of doctrine in the church, that being finished, they might be set forth by public authority." "In this Confession of Faith," says the historian Burnet, "the eternity of hell-torments is asserted; and care is

* The Church of England, having rejected the doctrine of the real presence, and declared that the eucharist is not a propitiatory, but a commemorative sacrifice, should have also abolished this vestige of Papal superstition and of idolatrous worship. A Romanist kneels, because he believes the consecrated bread to be the Lord Jesus Christ himself—body, soul, and divinity. The Protestant who abjures this stupid and wicked error, should receive it as nearly under the circumstances in which the apostles received it from Christ himself, as circumstances may permit.

also taken to inculcate, that not only no heathen, how virtuous soever, can escape an endless state of the most exquisite misery, but also that every one who presumes to maintain that any pagan can possibly be saved, is himself exposed to the penalty of eternal perdition." In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the number of the Articles was reduced to thirty-nine.

On the 23d of January, 1552, the Book of Common Prayer was established by Parliament, (5th and 6th Edw. VI. c. 1,) as the standard of divine worship, and the rule of faith, to be observed throughout the kingdom. Penalties were, by the same act, provided against all those who neglected to attend public worship, or refused to conform with the rituals of the Church, as by law established. "To dissent," says Hume, "from the religion of the magistrate, was universally conceived to be as criminal as to question his title, or to rebel against his authority."

The powers vested in the council enabled them to exact an open, if not a sincere, obedience to the ordinances of the national religion, from all orders and classes of men. The Princess Mary alone continued obstinate and unyielding. To Dr. Ridley, then Bishop of London, she said, "I cannot tell what ye call God's word; that is not God's word now, that was God's word in my father's days; and as for your new books, I thank God I never read any of them; I never did, nor ever will do." To the messengers from the council who were sent to communicate to her the determination of the government to enforce throughout the kingdom a uniformity of worship, she replied, that she would die rather than use any form of worship but that which was left by her father, only she was afraid she was not worthy to suffer on so good an account. Two of her chaplains having celebrated mass* in her absence, were immediately arrested and imprisoned in the Tower. The fear of a war with the emperor, who threatened to avenge any personal violence offered to her,

* James, before his accession to the throne of England, in a General Assembly at Edinburgh, said: "I praise God that I was born in the time of the light of the Gospel, and in such a place as to be the king of the purest Kirk in the world. The Kirk of Geneva keep Pasche and Yule," (Easter and Christmas.) "What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbor Kirk of England, their service is an evil-said mass in English. *They want nothing of the mass but the liftings,*" (the elevation of the host.)

restrained the council from proceeding to further measures of coercion. Bonner was deprived of his see for contumacy, and imprisoned. Gardiner, Day, Bishop of Chichester, Heath, of Worcester, and Voisey, of Exeter, were severally divested of their bishoprics. Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, was also deprived, his goods were confiscated, and the regalities of the see were bestowed upon the Duke of Northumberland. Such was the spirit of intolerance and persecution which thus early distinguished the hierarchy of England. But a fearful retribution awaited those zealous Reformers, who had not themselves cast off the shackles of Popish superstition and tyranny, and terrible was the blow inflicted by the arm of the avenger.

Edward VI. died on the 6th of July, 1553, and was succeeded by the princess Mary, daughter of Henry and Catharine of Arragon. During the last illness of the king, a conspiracy was formed by Northumberland, Northampton, Arundel, Huntingdon, and Pembroke, for excluding that princess from the throne, and elevating the Lady Jane Grey, daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, and granddaughter of Mary, the sister of Henry VIII. Northumberland's fourth son, the Lord Guildford Dudley, married Jane; the eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke married Catharine, younger sister of Jane; and the eldest son of the Earl of Huntingdon married a daughter of the Duke of Northumberland. Such were the alliances which united these noblemen for the aggrandizement of their respective families.

Edward was persuaded to make a devise of the crown to Jane, which the privy councillors, the judges, and law officers, were compelled to sanction. Sir James Hales, one of the judges, and a zealous Protestant, alone refused to yield his assent. Cranmer objected, on the ground that he had already sworn to maintain the succession of Mary, and he would, he said, be guilty of perjury, by defending the pretensions of her rival; but afterward complied with the solicitations of the king, and gave in his adherence to the cause of the Lady Jane.

Edward's motive for depriving Mary of the succession was to protect the Reformation from the assaults of Popish bigotry and intolerance. In his dying moments he fervently ejaculated, "O my Lord God, defend this realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name for Jesus Christ's sake!" But the popular voice declared

in favor of the Princess Mary, as the rightful successor to the throne of her brother; and her coronation was celebrated in September with courtly splendor and magnificence.

The queen gave strong assurances, before her coronation, that she would do nothing to the prejudice of the established religion; but her known attachment to the Popish faith, for which she had perilled her crown and life, might very justly have weakened the public confidence in the sincerity of her professions. The ceremonies of her coronation removed whatever doubts may have been entertained on this subject. The garments worn by her on that occasion were all blessed; she was anointed with holy oil on various parts of her head and body. Gardiner, the degraded Bishop of Winchester, whom she had released from his imprisonment in the Tower, chanted the mass. The Duke of Norfolk, Tonstall and Bonner, with many others, confined in the Tower in the preceding reign, were all liberated. The Romish priests celebrated the mass publicly, and one of the royal chaplains boldly attacked the innovations in religion. The Princess Elizabeth, to avoid suspicion of heresy, and avert the anger of Mary, was compelled to attend mass, and to dissemble her real sentiments by an outward observance of Popish rites.

But the queen very soon after gave stronger manifestations of her ultimate designs, and of her settled resolution to subvert the entire ecclesiastical system recently established in the kingdom. Even at this early period of her reign she addressed a letter to Gardiner, (now in the British Museum,) in which she declared her fixed intention of burning every Protestant; and intimated that, as soon as circumstances would permit, she would restore to the Church the lands which had been taken from the monasteries.

The first exercise of her regal powers was the trial and execution of the conspirators against her accession to the throne. This was a measure of state policy, and may have been dictated by rigid justice. Those offenders were convicted of high treason, and were punished accordingly. "The queen," says Fox, "having satiated her malice upon those persons who had adhered to Lady Jane Grey, she had next recourse to those old auxiliaries of Popery, fire, fagot, and the stake, in order to convert her heretical subjects to the true Catholic faith." With the exception of Jane Grey and her husband, those not capitally

punished for the recent rebellion were, after a short confinement in prison, released. Jane and Lord Guildford Dudley were secured for a future, but an equally exemplary punishment.

Having restored Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstall, Day, Heath, and Voisey to their respective sees by her royal prerogative, she ordered Holgate, Archbishop of York, Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, Ridley of London, Hooper of Gloucester, and Latimer of Worcester, to be committed to close imprisonment. Cranmer attracted the notice of the court by a protestation published by him against the use of the Latin language in the offices of the Church. Among other expressions he said, that "as the devil was a liar from the beginning, and the father of lies, he had, at this time, stirred up his servants to persecute Christ and his true religion; that this infernal spirit now endeavored to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and device; and, in order to effect this purpose, had falsely made use of Cranmer's name and authority; and that the mass is not only without foundation, either in the Scriptures or in the practice of the primitive Church, but likewise discovers a plain contradiction to antiquity and the inspired writings, and is, besides, replete with many horrid blasphemies." He was immediately arrested, and, upon a charge of high treason for his assenting to the conspiracy against Mary, he was convicted; but his execution was delayed. Peter Martyr, by the assistance of Gardiner, fled from the kingdom, but his wife's body was disinterred, and buried in a dunghill. The bones of Bucer, who had died in 1551, were publicly burnt, and the tomb in which they had been deposited was demolished. The greater part of the foreign Protestants returned to the continent, and many Englishmen who professed the Reform doctrines also took refuge in foreign countries. Such were the occurrences in the first year of the reign of this bigoted and blood-thirsty sovereign.

The first Parliament convened on the 5th of October, 1553. In all matters affecting the domestic or internal interests of the nation, the members appear to have been sufficiently obsequious to the wishes of the queen. But when information was communicated to them that a marriage between Mary and Philip II., King of Spain, was the subject of a negotiation between the two courts, they did not hesitate to remonstrate against this projected foreign alliance; and in consequence of this opposition to her measures

the Parliament was dissolved. Protestant writers have affirmed that the elections were conducted under the corrupt influences of the court, and that the Parliament was not a fair representation of the religious sentiments of the people. This charge, however, has not been sustained; but whether a majority, or what portion of the people, were favorable to the principles of the Reformation, or the ecclesiastical system newly erected in the kingdom, cannot be determined. The comparative strength of the two religious parties in the country at this period has been variously estimated, but without any admitted standard of computation. The compliance of the Parliament with the will of the sovereign may be attributed to that submissive temper which characterized the English nation throughout the reign of the Tudor family.

The queen, presuming upon this obsequiousness in her subjects, subverted at once the religious institutions of the country. Parliament was opened by a public celebration of mass in the Latin tongue before the two Houses, in direct violation of a statute of the realm. Taylor, Bishop of Lincoln, having refused to kneel at the service, was forcibly expelled. The public feeling, which may have been affronted by these measures of arbitrary power, was conciliated by the declaration of the court, that it had no intention of a change in religion beyond that made by Henry VIII., and that the forms of the Romish worship should not be restored further than they were admitted by that monarch; and the queen still permitted herself to be entitled the supreme head of the Church of England.

Among other statutes of a political character, one was passed which, by a sweeping clause, repealed all the statutes enacted in the reign of Edward VI. on the subject of religion; and it was further declared by statute that "after the 20th of December next ensuing no service should be allowed but that in use at the death of King Henry." The majority in the Commons appears, by a statement of the votes at the passage of the repealing bill, to have been small.

A convocation had also been summoned; and in this ecclesiastical body the majority sustained the views of the court. Thus, in the course of a few months after the demise of Edward, the whole ecclesiastical polity of the nation was changed. "The new laws," says Hume, "with regard to religion, though they

had been anticipated, in most places, by the zeal of the Catholics, countenanced by government, were still more openly put in execution after the Parliament and convocation were dismissed. The mass was every where re-established; and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any spiritual office." A visitation was appointed, in order to restore more perfectly the mass and the ancient rites. Among other articles, the commissioners were enjoined to forbid the oath of supremacy to be taken by the clergy on their receiving any benefice. The statute of Henry VIII. requiring this oath had not, however, been repealed; and we have in this, as in every other measure of the government, positive evidence of the ultimate intentions of the queen to re-establish the Popish religion, and to reduce the kingdom again under a subjection to the Roman Pontiff.

The question of the queen's marriage became now a matter of importance to the nation. She determined at length, contrary to the popular wish, to espouse the Prince of Spain. The Commons petitioned her to select a husband out of the nobility of the realm; but this she was resolved not to comply with. She accordingly sent for the imperial ambassador, "and taking him into her oratory, knelt at the foot of the altar, before the hallowed wafer which she believed to be her Creator, and having recited the hymn, *Veni, Creator spiritus*, called God to witness that she took the Prince of Spain for her husband, and never would have any other."

The well-known bigotry of the House of Austria excited the alarm of the Protestants in England, when a public announcement was made of Mary's determination to marry Philip. Dissatisfaction, first expressed by remonstrances, proceeded to conspiracies, and at length burst forth into open rebellion. In Warwickshire, Devonshire, and along the borders of Wales, there were demonstrations of a hostile feeling toward the government; but the designs and machinations of the conspirators were discovered, and defeated, by the arrest of the Duke of Suffolk, and the dispersion of his forces. The insurrection in Kent, headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt, was more alarming. He collected about four thousand men, marched to London, and entered Westminster without resistance. Here he was opposed by an army of ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, under the command of Lords Pembroke and Clinton, and being over-

come, he surrendered. He was soon after condemned and executed. "Four hundred," says Hume, "were said to have suffered for this rebellion; and four hundred more were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks, and falling on their knees received a pardon, and were dismissed."

Immediately subsequent to these occurrences a warrant was signed by the queen for the execution of Lord Guildford and Jane; who were beheaded on the 12th of February, 1554, within the precincts of the Tower. The Duke of Suffolk, the father of Jane, was also executed soon after. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was indicted, but acquitted by the jury. This verdict was received by the queen under the strongest feelings of disappointment and anger. She ordered the prisoner to be recommitted; and the jury, summoned before the council, were also imprisoned, and obtained their release, by paying the excessive fines imposed upon them. "The queen," says Hume, "filled the Tower and all the prisons with nobility and gentry, whom their interest with the nation, rather than any appearance of guilt, made the objects of her suspicion. And finding that she was universally hated, she determined to disable the people from resistance, by ordering general musters, and directing the commissioners to seize their arms, and lay them up in forts and castles."

The principal object of Mary's hatred was her sister, the Princess Elizabeth. The emperor advised her immediate execution. Every effort was therefore made to accomplish her destruction, through the forms of law, by stratagem and artful devices. She was at length arrested, at her residence at Ashridge, by an armed force, and imprisoned in the Tower. She was afterward conveyed to Richmond; and then to Woodstock castle, where she was strictly guarded, and her words and conduct closely scrutinized. Mary feared to proceed to extremities, as anxious as she was to sacrifice her to her religious bigotry, without some plausible ground of conviction; but the prudence and circumspection of Elizabeth defeated her malevolent designs.

On the 5th of April, 1554, another Parliament convened. The emperor remitted to England the sum of four hundred thousand crowns, to be distributed in bribes among the members. The queen, to quiet the public apprehensions of a combination against the interests of the nation, re-assumed her title of supreme head

of the Church, which she had not long before disavowed. Notwithstanding her artifices and duplicity she was disappointed in the accomplishment of her objects. The Parliament consented to a ratification of her marriage with Philip; but they refused to invest in her a power of disposing of the crown, or of appointing her successor; nor would they declare by statute, that to imagine or to attempt the death of the queen's husband, while she was alive, would be treason. On the other hand, a law was passed, in which it was affirmed, that "she, as their only queen, should solely, and as a sole queen, enjoy the crown and sovereignty of her realms," &c.; and expressly precluded her intended husband from any title or claim, under any pretext whatsoever, to the regal sovereignty. The efforts to revive the law of the six articles, to re-enact those against heresies, and to suppress heterodoxical opinions generally, were also frustrated. This Parliament, not being sufficiently compliant with her wishes, was dissolved.

On the 19th of July Philip arrived in England. On the 20th of November following a new Parliament was assembled. As Mary's most earnest wishes were, to restore her kingdom to the Roman See, and re-establish the Papal authority within her dominions, dissimulation and intrigues were again resorted to. With a view of silencing opposition from those who were invested with the right of property in confiscated Church lands, Pope Julius III., by the suggestions of Gardiner, published a bull, empowering the legate "to give, alienate, and transfer, to the present possessors all the property taken from the Church in the two late reigns." The sheriffs of the several counties had been directed by the crown to provide for the election and return of those only who were attached to the ancient faith, and would therefore sustain the measures of the queen.

"The zeal of the Catholics," says Hume, "the influence of the Spanish gold, the powers of prerogative, the discouragement of the gentry, particularly of the Protestants; all these causes, seconding the intrigues of Gardiner, had procured her a House of Commons, which was, in a great measure, to her satisfaction; and it was thought, from the disposition of the nation, that she might now safely omit, on her assembling the Parliament, the title of supreme head of the Church, though inseparably annexed, by law, to the crown of England." As the

Cardinal Pole had been invested with legatine powers from the Pope, Parliament reversed the attainder passed upon him in the reign of Henry, the queen dispensed with the ancient statute of provisors, and he was, by these provisions, enabled to return with impunity to the kingdom. As the legate of the Pope he importuned the Parliament to become reconciled to his Holiness, and to exercise their influence and powers for restoring the Papal authority in the kingdom. Both Houses accordingly presented addresses to Philip and Mary, "acknowledging that they had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true Church; professing a sincere repentance of their past transgressions; declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the Church of Rome; and praying their majesties, that since they were happily uninfected with that criminal schism, they would intercede with the Holy Father for the absolution and forgiveness of their penitent subjects." This, the legate, in the name of his Holiness, most readily granted. Both Houses were graciously absolved from all guilt of past transgressions. The whole kingdom was favored by a similar sentence of remission; and England was again most condescendingly received into the bosom of *Holy Mother Church*. The king, the queen, both Houses of Parliament, the chief officers of State, attended in the chapel, and the *Te Deum* was devoutly chanted. Soon after the legate made his solemn and formal entrance into the city; Gardiner preached at St. Paul's Cross; and the whole nation enjoyed once more the benedictions of the Apostolic Father, in a delirium of orthodoxy.

A law was now passed, (1st and 2d Phil. and Mar. c. 8,) which repealed all the former statutes against the Pope's authority. The Parliament conceded to the reigning sovereigns all that was required for the restoration of the Popish faith. They revived the ancient statutes against heresy, made it treason to compass or attempt the life of Philip during his union with the queen, and re-established the forms of Romish worship. But in matters of a strictly political or civil nature they were not so compliant and so obsequious. They refused to declare Philip presumptive heir of the crown—to grant subsidies for assisting the emperor in his wars against France—to make a retrocession of the abbey lands to the Church, and to admit the invalidity of all marriages contracted during the schism which separated the Church of England from the Church of Rome.

Philip was fully apprised of the odium entertained by the people toward him, and, to ingratiate himself in their favor, he procured the release of several prisoners of distinction who were confined under a charge of treason. But the kindness he manifested toward Elizabeth—although evidently from motives of policy, and not from feelings of humanity, of which he was utterly incapable—was particularly regarded by the nation with respect. That princess had won the esteem of all by her affability and discreet behavior, and the cruelty exercised toward her by her sister had excited a general sympathy in her behalf. It was well known that she was selected as a victim to Popish bigotry, and that the fear of the popular indignation had alone suspended the arm of execution. The emperor had urged this measure, and Gardiner had not scrupled to remark that “we may shake off the leaves and lop the branches of heresy, but if we do not destroy the root, the hope of heretics, (i. e. the princess,) we do nothing.” Hatfield was assigned to her as a residence; she was treated with gentleness and respect by those under whose charge she was placed, and she was now frequently received at court.

Hitherto circumstances had withheld the arm of the destroyer, and the spirit of persecution had been restrained, by civil disturbances, the projected marriage of the queen, and existing statutes which protected the adherents to the Reformed doctrines. These obstacles were now removed, and the commencement of the year 1555 opened new scenes of dismay and cruel sufferings to the Protestants. On the 25th of January (or St. Andrew's day) there was a solemn procession through London of priests and bishops. Bonner accompanied, bearing the *Host*. General thanksgiving was made for their reconciliation with the Papal Church. Bonfires illuminated the city throughout the night, and that day was proclaimed as ever to be observed, and to be celebrated by the *Feast of Reconciliation*. On the 28th a court was opened under the authority of the legate for the trial of heretics. The chancellor presided, and the members were the Bishops Bonner, Tonstall, Heath, Thirlby, Aldrich, and other prelates, with the Duke of Norfolk and Lords Montague and Wharton.

Rogers and Hooper were arraigned before this court on a charge of heresy: the latter, for having married, being a priest,

and for having asserted that marriages may be dissolved for fornication and adultery, and that the parties so divorced may lawfully enter again into bonds of wedlock ; he was also charged with denying transubstantiation. He admitted the truth of the charges alleged against him. "I have done so," he said, "and I now affirm that the very natural body of Christ is not really and substantially present in the sacrament of the altar. I assert, moreover, that the mass is idolatrous, and the iniquity of the devil." Rogers was a man of erudition and of exemplary piety. He had assisted Tyndal in the translation of the Bible. He was prebendary of St. Paul's, and reader of divinity lectures in that cathedral. His zeal against Popery had distinguished him among the intrepid Reformers of the age. He freely declared before the chancellor, Gardiner, that he was fully convinced that the Pope was Antichrist, and that his religion was contrary to the Gospel. He had a wife and ten children, and, notwithstanding these ties of affection, when required to recant, he replied that what he had preached he would seal with his blood. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield on the 4th of February, 1555, and Hooper a few days after was also committed to the flames within his diocese in Gloucester. Thus perished the two first martyrs in the bloody reign of Queen Mary.

The fires were now kindled, and the autos da fé soon after illuminated the distant counties in the kingdom. About the same time Laurence Saunders, a preacher of the Reformed doctrines, was carried to the stake. A pardon was offered to him on condition of renouncing his faith, and returning to the Popish Church ; but this he indignantly rejected. "He had no objection," he said, "to suffer for that God who had given him courage to declare his sentiments without fear, and would support him under every affliction. He could not injure his conscience, by giving up the truth as it was revealed in the word of God. As for his religion, it was the same as that taught in the New Testament. He worshipped the God of his fathers, after the manner they (the Papists) call heresy. It was an easy matter," he said, "to call people heretics, and to proceed against them by the assistance of the civil power ; but the best way was to attempt, and, if possible, to confute their notions by solid arguments." He declared that no man could be a faithful servant of Christ, who acknowledged the Papal supremacy. (Fox.) When

conducted to the stake to be offered up as an acceptable holocaust to the demon of Papal fanaticism, he embraced it, saying, "Welcome, the cross of Christ ! welcome, everlasting life !"

Dr. Thomas Taylor, a preacher at Hadley, who was considered the glory of Cambridge, for his learning, and particularly for his thorough knowledge of the canon and civil laws, was condemned to the flames ; but before the fire had affected his vital parts, a Papist, enraged by his constancy and fortitude, gave him a blow on the head with his halbert, and put an end to his life and sufferings. But it would be tedious to extend further the narration of the sufferings and death of individual martyrs who perished at the stake during the period which intervened from the martyrdom of Rogers to the termination of the queen's reign. In the persecution, neither age nor sex protected the devoted victim : even the infant babe, brought forth at the stake by a forced parturition from the tortures inflicted upon the pregnant mother, was cast into the flames under circumstances of the most horrid barbarity—"that nothing may survive," as the brutal monster exclaimed, "which sprang from so obstinate and heretical a parent."

The first female martyr was burnt in the parish of Popping-berry in the month of July, 1555. When arraigned before the court of the Bishop of Rochester, she declared as her belief, "that the bread and wine in the sacrament are to be received as symbols and representatives of the body and blood of Christ, but not as his body really and substantially ;" "that it is not in the power of any man, by pronouncing words over the elements of bread and wine, to transubstantiate them into the real body and blood of Christ ;" "and, that the eucharist is only a commemoration of the death of our Saviour, who said, 'As oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me.' " The bishop then exclaimed against her as an obstinate heretic, telling her that she was a silly woman, who knew not what she said, and that it was the duty of every Christian to believe as the Mother Church has taught and does teach. "Will you recant the error which you maintain," said the haughty prelate, "and be reconciled to the holy Church, and receive the remission of your sins ?" "I cannot believe otherwise than I have spoken," said Margaret Polley, "because the practice of the Church of Rome is contrary not only to reason, and my senses, but also to the word of God." Sentence was pronounced against her ; and her sincerity, constancy,

and fortitude, were tested by the *auto da fé*. "She was a woman," says Fox, "in the prime of life, pious, charitable, humane, learned in the Scriptures, and beloved by all who were acquainted with her."

Of the long list of martyrs who freely yielded their lives in defence of the faith, may be mentioned the distinguished names of Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Ridley, Bishop of London; Latimer, of Worcester; Ferrar, of St. David's; John Bradford, Prebendary of St. Paul's; Rev. George Marsh, curate in the county of Lancaster. Cranmer was arraigned on the 14th of February, 1556, in the choir of Christ's Church at Oxford, before Bonner of London, and Thirlby of Ely, as Papal commissioners. Bonner gratified his revenge against this distinguished prelate of the Church, by indulging in the most reproachful language, and treating him with the most wanton indignity. The degraded archbishop conducted himself with that nobleness of demeanor and firmness of spirit which became the eminent station he had occupied, while in the presence of his judges. But his resolution appears not to have been steadfast and unyielding, under the persuasions and flattering addresses of an insinuating and artful enemy. John de Villa Garcia, a Spanish friar, in private and confidential communications, by solicitations and delusive promises, obtained from him a recantation of his former opinions; of which he afterward repented with sincere contrition and sorrow of heart. Six of those articles subscribed by the archbishop have been recorded. "One alone," says an impartial historian, "contains an unequivocal assent to the doctrines of Popery. It is justly due, however, to the memory of that truly pious and celebrated divine, to state, that it is not certainly known what doctrines of his Church he disavowed, or to which of the Romish tenets he assented. That he made a recantation, of which he repented, he declared at the stake. He there revoked and renounced all such papers as he had written or signed since his degradation. When the fire was kindled around him, he stretched out his right hand, and thrust it into the flame, crying with a loud voice, "This hand hath offended." On the day of Cranmer's execution, Cardinal Pole was invested with priestly orders; and on the following was enthroned as his successor in the archiepiscopal chair.

The court, in a spirit of Popish duplicity, evinced, in the com-

mencement of the persecution, some degree of fastidiousness, and affected even a disapproval of the cruelties inflicted upon the convicted. Philip carried so far his Jesuitical hypocrisy that he ordered his confessor to deliver in his presence a sermon in defence of religious toleration. The dissimulation, however, was soon abandoned, and "the court," says Hume, "finding that Bonner, however shameless and savage, would not bear alone the whole infamy, soon threw off the mask; and the unrelenting temper of the queen, as well as of the king, appeared without control. A bold step was even taken toward introducing the Inquisition into England." A commission to inquire after heretical pravity in the kingdom, was directed to twenty persons, any three of whom were empowered to act. They were authorized to proceed "in any political way they could devise," either in detecting or punishing heresies; using all means, as their discretions and consciences should direct them, which they might invent. They were invested with an unlimited authority particularly "to try all priests that did not preach the sacrament of the altar; all persons that did not hear mass, or come to the parish church to service; that would not go in processions, or did not take holy bread or holy water: and, if they found any that did obstinately persist in such heresies, they were to put them in the hands of their ordinaries, to be punished according to the spiritual laws." Those arrested on suspicion, and who would not confess their guilt, were directed to be tortured at discretion. The inquisitorial tribunal was further organized by the institution of a system of espionage and secret information. Justices of the peace were also clothed with inquisitorial powers; with authority to examine the accused, who were not permitted to confront their accusers; and to inflict such punishment as might seem meet, at their discretion. Thus were the civil offices under the government erected into tribunals, having full cognizance of all cases either of a temporal or spiritual nature. A proclamation was made, that whoever had any heretical, seditious, or treasonable publications, should immediately destroy them, or be viewed as rebels, and liable to capital punishment without trial or defence.

The nation was still further degraded by a formal embassy to Rome, to express to the reigning pontiff the submission of England to the Roman See, and to present an humble petition for its re-admission into the bosom of the Papal Church. Pope Paul

IV. had recently ascended the chair of St. Peter. That haughty sovereign affected to have taken offence that Mary had retained the title of Queen of Ireland. "He affirmed that it belonged to him alone, as he saw cause, either to erect new kingdoms or to abolish the old."* In a spirit of compromise, however, he declared Ireland a kingdom, and conceded, as an act of condescension and of favor, to Mary a title which Henry VIII. had assumed under an act of Parliament, and transmitted to his successors. Such has been the artifice of the Popes in their acquisition of power. It was by such stratagems that they succeeded in giving the appearance of acknowledged right to their ancient claims of universal dominion. He did not require Mary to resign her crown to the legate, and receive it again as a present from the See of Rome, swearing fealty to his Holiness as a vassal and feudatory. Such an act of audacity and spiritual usurpation was congenial to the age of Innocent III. and the craven-hearted John, to the bigotry of the thirteenth century.

The pontiff was not disposed, however, to make so liberal a concession when a question of right was introduced, which he flattered himself might be insisted on with at least a possibility of success. Julius III. had remarked that "it was an unexampled instance of his felicity to receive thanks from the English for allowing them to do what he ought to give them thanks for performing;" when the king and queen, under the first impulse of joy at the restoration of their ancient faith, interceded for the absolution and forgiveness of their penitent subjects, and chanted the *Te Deum*; and when the legate, in the name of the holy Father, received the nation again into the bosom of the Roman Church. In the exuberance of a kindly feeling, and to secure this unexpected acquisition, that pontiff commissioned his legate with full powers to ratify the alienation of the Church lands, and relinquished all claims to them by the See of Rome. But Paul deeming that acquisition secure, insisted upon the restoration of the property and possessions of the Church, to the uttermost farthing, as an indispensable condition of reconciliation,

* The intelligent reader will perceive from the language of Paul that the progress of the Reformation had not lowered the pretensions, nor softened the tone, of the pontiffs. The "*Dictates of Hildebrand*," in the eleventh century, did not presume more upon the obsequiousness and superstition of his age. Truly the spirit of Popery is unchangeable.

and his acceptance of the proffered submission of England to the Papal authority. "Whatever belonged to God," he said, "could never, by any law, be converted to profane uses; and every person who detained such possessions was in a state of eternal damnation: that he would willingly, in consideration of the humble submissions of the English, make them a present of those ecclesiastical revenues; but such a concession exceeded his power, and the people might be certain that so great a profanation* of holy things would be a perpetual anathema upon them, and would blast all their future felicity: that if they would truly show their filial piety they must restore all the privileges and emoluments of the Romish Church, and Peter's pence amongst the rest; nor could they expect that this apostle would open to them the gates of paradise, while they detained from him his patrimony on earth."

The pontiff, however, misunderstood the spirit of the age; and his remonstrances and threatening denunciations had little weight with the laity of the English nation. If there was not an indifference among the people on the subject of religion, which seems at least probable from the facility with which the rites and forms of worship were new-modelled by the government, there was evidently no disposition on the part of those who enjoyed the revenues arising from the confiscated property of the Church to relinquish their right of possession, and its emoluments. The concessions which had been made to the Pope, by acknowledging his supremacy and reinstating the Romish religion in England, were not assented to by the landed proprietors, until sufficient assurances were given that they would not be compelled to restore to the Church the ecclesiastical estates.

His Holiness was more successful in his appeal to the superstitious feelings and religious prejudices of the queen. She determined at once, against the more sober judgment of her council, to restore all the Church lands which were still in possession of the crown, declaring that "she preferred the salvation of her soul to ten such kingdoms as England." Mary having deprived herself of these resources, was compelled to resort to Parliament for extraordinary appropriations. The subsidies

* For this profanation Julius III. was here indirectly anathematized by Paul, and consigned to eternal damnation.

granted were insufficient to supply the demands of the government and the expenditures of the court, and recourse was had to a system of oppressive exactions. While she bestowed with one hand, for the safety of her soul, the rich revenues of the crown derived from the confiscated Church property, she levied exorbitant and arbitrary loans on her subjects, imposed restrictions upon commerce, compelled the merchants to pay large sums for the privileges of trade, borrowed from foreign capitalists on usurious interest, for the payment of which her own subjects were oppressively taxed, and anticipated the subsidies by collecting in one year such as were designed for the succeeding.

These arbitrary proceedings created a general discontent throughout the kingdom, and alienated the affections of the people, not only from herself, but from the ghostly Father into whose coffers a large portion of the ordinary revenues of the crown had been diverted. This well-grounded dissatisfaction weakened the Papal interest in England; and the public mind was, by this and other causes, prepared for the approaching change in the national religion. Parliament had not been compliant in matters of a political character, and they indicated a temper, (deemed refractory by the queen,) not in accordance with the spirit and persecuting policy of Popery, when they rejected a bill for obliging those who had fled into foreign countries from religious intolerance at home, to return, under certain penalties; and another for disqualifying those magistrates or justices of the peace who had been dilatory in the prosecution of heretics.

Gardiner, the chancellor, died; and Heath, Archbishop of York, was invested with the office of the great seal, that, as an ecclesiastic, he might exercise a stronger influence in the suppression of heresy and the re-establishment of the Popish religion. The persecutions, therefore, were not remitted by the death of Gardiner, but continued to be equally cruel and unrelenting throughout the reign of Mary. Nor was the Princess Elizabeth entirely exempt from the dangers which continually threatened the suspected. All her movements were watched by the vigilant eyes of the hired informers about her court; and secret machinations were formed to seduce her into an unguarded disclosure of her religious opinions. Mary anxiously wished to procure a pretext for an accusation against her, that she might be executed by the customary formalities of the law.

On the 17th of November, 1558, this cruel and bloody reign was terminated by the death of the queen. On the following day Cardinal Pole also closed his earthly career. With the deaths of Gardiner, Mary, and the legate, the dominion of Popery in England ceased. No positive estimate can be made of the number of those who perished during this short reign on account of their religious opinions. Lord Burleigh (as stated by Strype) computes it at four hundred: two hundred and ninety by the auto da fé, the rest by imprisonments, famine, and tortures. Sanders, a Popish writer, admits that, "*aliquot pseudopphetarum centuriæ sunt sublatae*," but how many hundreds he cautiously omitted to state. Among the sufferers there were sixty women and forty children—the innocent victims of Popish intolerance and cruelty. But we leave these bloody scenes, and advance to a more propitious era of religious reformation.

CHAPTER XII.

THE plastic power of the crown in moulding the religious sentiments of the people can be accounted for from the fact, stated by the historian, Hume, "that the English were so thoroughly subdued, that, like Eastern slaves, they were inclined to admire those acts of violence and tyranny which were exercised over themselves and at their own expense." Few efforts were made, and those but feeble and ineffectual, to resist the royal authority under the reign of Henry VIII., or of his immediate successors. That monarch, it is true, had but prepared the minds of the people for the great reformation which was accomplished by his son Edward. But that object having been attained, and the public feeling seemingly composed under the radical changes effected in the rites, doctrines, and forms of worship in the Church, we cannot observe, without surprise and wonder, the facility with which the whole ecclesiastical structure, then reared and apparently perfected, was entirely overthrown by a simple exercise of the royal prerogative. Both parties were undoubtedly zealous in maintaining their respective tenets—as the Protestants did by their decided measures of reform, and the Papists by persecutions, tortures and the stake. It would be a fruitless, and a useless inquiry, to determine on which side the physical power preponderated. The moral force reposed in the sovereignty of the nation; and this alone regulated the balance. In questions, however, which involved the civil rights of the subject, neither the Parliament nor the people were obsequious to the will of the monarch. As discretionary as was the power of Henry VIII., he was seldom successful in his arbitrary attempts to impose unusual and oppressive taxes on the nation. Mary was frequently baffled in her schemes of raising a revenue

by exactions. The Parliament, which promptly restored to the Church the tenths and first-fruits, and the *impropriations** which remained in the hands of the crown, by the order of the queen, as promptly rejected her application for *two-fifteenths* to be levied on the people.

Henry VIII. was declared, by a statute of the realm, the head and supreme governor of the national Church; and an obsequiousness to the hierarchy has always been a distinguishing feature in the character of the English people. That the Papists were in the majority throughout his reign we cannot doubt. A Popish writer affirms, that they composed two-thirds of the population at the period of Elizabeth's accession to the throne; Hallam, however, has estimated the proportion as only one-third. These computations are evidently founded on no admitted data, and must be received as altogether conjectural. Sir William Cecil informed Elizabeth, in the first year of her reign, "that the greater part of the nation had, ever since her father's reign, inclined to the Reformation; and, though her sister had constrained them to profess the ancient faith, the cruelties exercised by her ministers had still more alienated their affections from it." "Happily," he said, "the interests of the sovereign here concurred with the inclinations of the people."

Elizabeth, after her elevation, continued to display that prudence and cautious policy which had governed her conduct during the administration of her suspicious and blood-thirsty sister. She even exhibited a magnanimity of spirit in her conciliatory treatment of those who had been her most dangerous enemies. All of them were received with courtesy and favor except Bonner, who had been the willing instrument of Gardiner in the persecution of the Protestants, and had performed, with a savage brutality, the dishonorable service of degrading the distinguished Cranmer. It may not, however, be inappropriately remarked

* Benefices, or Church preferments, are *impropriated* when they are in the hands of laymen, and *appropriated* when held by spiritual corporations. *Fifteenths* indicated that proportion of *moveables* liable to taxation. But in the reign of Edward III., a specified sum, determined by a valuation, was required (instead) of each town, which was assessed upon the inhabitants, and remained the same afterwards,

here, that while that celebrated queen deserved the highest commendation for the wisdom and firmness of mind and purpose with which she governed that great nation, it must at the same time be admitted, that her measures betrayed, under particular circumstances, the tyrant in politics and the bigot in religion. Persecutions for opinions' sake marked her administration, and these were often not unaccompanied with cruelty. She was gifted with a forecast beyond her sex, and a happy talent of preserving an equipoise in the conflicting factions which disturbed her reign ; but to her sagacity in selecting for her counsellors men of extraordinary abilities may be attributed her wonderful success in the government of the kingdom.

Immediately after her arrival at court, and the arrangement of her domestic affairs, embassies were sent to the several foreign courts, in conformity with the etiquette usually observed on such occasions, to notify her accession. Lord Cobham was commissioned to the Netherlands, where Philip was, with instructions to express to him, at the same time, her sense of gratitude for his friendship and kindness toward her during the reign of Mary. That monarch tendered to her his hand, assuring her that a dispensation for their marriage could be easily procured at Rome. This she very courteously declined. Sir Edward Carne, then at the Papal court, was directed to communicate to the pontiff her succession to the English throne. This information was not, however, very graciously received ; nor was it replied to in a very conciliatory and pacific temper. The haughty prelate was indignant that Elizabeth should have presumed to lay her hands upon the crown before his consent had been obtained. He declared her assumption of the title and authority of queen an act of temerity and presumption ; and that, being illegitimate by birth, she was not entitled to the throne, nor could he annul the sentence pronounced by his predecessors, Clement VII. and Paul III., against the legality of Henry's marriage with her mother, Anne Boleyn. He claimed England, he said, as a fief of the Holy See. Notwithstanding these insuperable obstacles to the accession of Elizabeth, the holy Father very condescendingly offered to extend to her his paternal kindness, in other words, to acknowledge the validity of her father's marriage, and her right to the throne of England, if she would

lay her crown at his feet, and submit the disposal of it to his spiritual adjudication.* Such was the language and conduct of Pope Paul IV., in the middle of the sixteenth century. But if that presumptuous pontiff would have acted the part of Innocent III., he found Elizabeth not as submissive to his behests, as John had been to the apostolic Father in the benighted era of the thirteenth century. She disregarded his impotent denunciations, and proceeded in the accomplishment of those measures she had designed with unshaken resolution.

After the obsequies of the late queen had been performed, she organized her council by retaining eleven of her sister's advisers, and adding eight others of her own choice, whose religious sentiments were congenial with her own. Sir William Cecil, appointed Secretary of State, was her principal and most confidential counsellor.

On the 15th of January, 1559, the ceremonies of her coronation were performed. The first acts of her administration had already evinced a determination to sustain the cause of the Reformation. Cecil assured her "that the interests of the sovereign here concurred with the inclinations of the people"—"that the curses and execrations of the Romish Church, when not seconded by military force, were, in the present age, more an object of ridicule than of terror; and had now, he said, as little influence in this world as in the next." He quieted her apprehensions, as to any danger from the co-operation of Philip, or the King of France, with the pontiff, for enforcing a sentence of excommunication; as the strength of the Protestant party in their dominions would be an effectual check to their attempts to sustain the efforts of the Papists in England. The minds of her subjects, he told her, had been tutored into submission by the government of her father; and that many even of the most zealous Papists would quietly embrace her religion: and, moreover, that her objects could be effectually accomplished by bestowing all preferments on those attached to the Reformed faith.

Before her coronation, she commenced the work of religious reform in the kingdom; but proceeded with prudence. She

* The pontiff, to conciliate Elizabeth, proposed to assent to the English ritual, and to permit the communion in both kinds, if she would acknowledge his supremacy!

publicly encouraged the Protestants ; but, at the same time, restrained their violence. "She suspended the laws so far as to order a great part of the service, the Litany, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Gospels, to be read in English. And having first published injunctions, that all the Churches should conform themselves to the practice of her own chapel, she forbade the host to be elevated in her presence." This order of itself struck at the root of the Papal superstitions. These proceedings, with her known predilections in favor of the Protestant doctrines before her elevation, were conclusive as to her ultimate intentions.

"These declarations of her intention," says Hume, "concurring with preceding suspicions, made the bishops foresee with certainty a revolution in religion. They therefore refused to officiate at her coronation ; and it was with some difficulty that the Bishop of Carlisle was, at last, prevailed on to perform the ceremony.

An order for electing members of Parliament was issued ; and to secure a majority in the Commons favorable to the religious views of the queen, candidates were nominated by the court to the respective boroughs and counties ; and by the authority of the Sheriff, the choice was made from these. On the 25th of January, Parliament convened.

The first act was that which declared, "that Queen Elizabeth was, and ought to be, as well by the word of God, as the common and statute laws of the realm, the lawful, undoubted, and true heir to the crown, lawfully descended from the blood royal, according to the order of succession, settled in the 35th of Henry VIII." Bills were then introduced, for the suppression of the monasteries recently erected by Mary ; and for restoring to the crown, the tenths and first-fruits, which had been restored to the Church by stat. 2 and 3 Phil. and Mar. c. 4 ; and for re-annexing the spiritual supremacy to the crown. This last statute was to the same purport as that passed in the 26th of Henry VIII. "These were all introduced and carried," says Keightley, "in spite of the strenuous opposition of the bishops." By the last act, the queen was entitled the governess (not *head*) of the Church of England. The crown was fully empowered "to make or repeal all canons ; repress and punish all heresies ; determine every point of discipline ; and ordain or abolish any religious right or ceremony, without the concurrence, either of

the Parliament or the convocation." (1 Eliz. c. 1.) It was also declared in that statute, that whoever refused to take an oath, acknowledging the queen's supremacy, should be incapable of holding any office ; and whoever denied it, or attempted to deprive her of that prerogative, should forfeit, for the first offence, his goods and chattels ; be subjected to a *præmunire* for the second ; and for the third, be convicted of treason.

By this statute, all the existing laws in relation to heresy were repealed ; and the jurisdiction of that offence was left as it had been at common law. Heresy was now more particularly defined ; which it had not been by any previous enactments. That was declared to be heresy, which was so called, in the sacred Scriptures, or in the decrees of the first four general councils, or in other general councils which defined it by scriptural terms ; and which shall thereafter be so declared by the Parliament, with the assent of the clergy in convocation. The offence was still punishable by burning, the writ *de hæretico comburendo* not having been repealed ; but as the interpretation of the words of Scripture reposed in the ecclesiastical judge, the offence was, in fact, not better defined than it had been before the passage of the law. The evil was indeed aggravated by a clause in the act which authorized the sovereign to appoint commissioners, either of the laity or clergy, for the enforcement of the law. Hence arose, not long after, the court of ecclesiastical commission ; having an extensive and undefined authority, which it too frequently exercised arbitrarily and oppressively. Thus was invested in the crown all the spiritual powers claimed by the Popes, fortified by the laws of the land, which those tyrannical despots could never fully exercise without the sanction of the clergy in the kingdom. The statute 29th Car. II. c. 9, abolished the writ for burning heretics, and subjected their offence to an ecclesiastical correction for the salvation of the soul. The offence itself, however, was not defined with greater precision, and the door was left open for oppression and violence. Subsequently, by statute 9th and 10th Wm. III. c. 32, " if any person educated in the Christian religion, or professing the same, shall by writing, printing, teaching, or advised speaking, deny any one of the persons of the Holy Trinity to be God, or maintain that there are more Gods than one, he shall undergo the same penalties and incapacities inflicted on apostacy by that act ;"

which were certain civil disabilities, and imprisonment for three years without bail. This was again modified by statute 53 Geo. III. c. 160, which exempted Unitarians from the penalties. But the statute of William did not alter the common law as to the offence of blasphemy against God, "by denying his being or providence, or by contumelious reproaches of our Saviour, or by profanely scoffing at the sacred Scriptures, or exposing them to contempt and ridicule;" which were severally punished, at common law, by fine and imprisonment, or other infamous corporal punishment; but gave a cumulative punishment for that offence. Nor did the statute of Geo. III. alter the common law on the subject; but only removed the penalties imposed upon persons (by statute of William) denying the Trinity, and extended to such persons the benefits conferred upon all other Protestant dissenters by 1 Wm. and Mar. s. 1. c. 18. (Blackstone.)*

The power invested in the sovereign "to ordain or abolish any religious rite or ceremony," was again recognized in another statute passed during that session of Parliament, known as the *Act of Uniformity*. This statute (1 Eliz. c. 2) abolished the mass, and re-established the Liturgy of Edward, adopted by act of Parliament in the year 1552. The penalties imposed on ministers who should use any other form of worship were, forfeiture of goods and chattels for the first offence; imprisonment for twelve months for the second; and, for the third offence, during life. Non-conformists, who absented themselves from church, either on Sundays or holydays, forfeited one shilling for each day; and twenty pounds if they continued such default for a month together. It further declared, "that whoever reviles the sacrament of the Lord's Supper shall be punished by fine and imprisonment;" and, "if any minister shall speak any thing in derogation of the Book of Common Prayer, he shall, if not beneficed, be imprisoned one year for the first offence, and for life for the second; and if he be beneficed, he shall, for the first offence, be imprisoned six months, and forfeit a year's value of his benefice; for the second offence he shall be deprived, and suffer one year's imprisonment; and, for the third, shall, in like manner, be de-

* In tracing the *statutory* history of the Church of England, I have carefully consulted throughout the *Commentaries of Blackstone*.

prived, and suffer imprisonment for life." And, furthermore, "if any person whatsoever shall, in plays, songs, or other open words, speak anything in derogation, depraving or despising of the said book, or shall forcibly prevent the reading of it, or cause any other service to be used in its stead, he shall forfeit, for the first offence, a hundred marks; for the second four hundred; and, for the third, shall forfeit all his goods and chattels, and suffer imprisonment for life." This statute of 1 Eliz. c. 2, was repealed, as far as relates to Protestant dissenters, by statute 31 George III., c. 32, s. 3. Before the passage of this law, a solemn disputation was maintained by the Papal and Protestant divines, before the lord-keeper, Bacon, on the subjects to be embraced in its provisions. On the last day of the discussion the Romanists refused to continue the controversy, and were pronounced obstinate and refractory. Bishops White and Watson were committed to the Tower for contempt; three other bishops and three divines, of the Popish Church, were fined; and the law was soon after passed.

Another act was passed which confirmed all the statutes of Edward on the subject of religion. The nomination of bishops was restored to the sovereign, without any election by the chapters. "The queen was authorized, on the vacancy of any see, to seize all the temporalities, and to bestow on the new incumbent an equivalent, in the *impropriations* belonging to the crown. The bishops, and all incumbents, were prohibited from alienating their revenues, and from letting leases longer than twenty-one years, or three lives." Such were the proceedings of the first Parliament in the reign of Elizabeth, for re-establishing the Protestant form of worship.

When the period arrived for introducing the liturgy of Edward, and administering the oath of supremacy, as prescribed by the recent statutes, all the prelates, except the Bishop of Llandaff, refused a compliance, and were accordingly degraded and deprived of their sees. "Of the inferior clergy throughout all England, where there are near ten thousand parishes, only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans, sacrificed their livings to their religious principles." "Bonner was confined in the Marshalsea; Tonstall and Thirlby resided at Lambeth; Bourne was sent to reside with the Dean of Exeter; Heath

spent the remainder of his life at Cobham. Some died, others went abroad, and the places of the deprived prelates were supplied by the most eminent Protestants." In the short space of a few months after the coronation of Elizabeth, the forms of the Protestant religion were established throughout the kingdom, the entire order of the Popish priesthood was abolished, and the *apostolic succession* again ceased, it is to be hoped for ever, in England.* A new succession in the episcopacy recommenced; and the Anglican Church was again reared, with a temporal sovereign as its head, and a newly instituted clergy, acknowledging her as their *governess*, the source and fountain of all their spiritual dignities and prerogatives.

The prelates of the Church under Mary were dismissed from their respective sees, without violence on the part of the government, or any resistance by themselves. But not long after their retirement they commenced an open attack upon the Reformation, and many of them were committed to prison; others removed to the continent.

Dr. Matthew Parker, who had been chaplain to the mother of the queen, was appointed, by Elizabeth, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was consecrated to the office, by Barlow and Scory, Bishops elect of Chichester and Hereford, Coverdale, a deprived Bishop of Exeter, and Hodgkins, suffragan of Bedford. (Dr. Rice *Evang. Mag.*, vol. 10.) These bishops had been severally degraded from their episcopal sees in the reign of Mary, as not having been canonically ordained. Edward VI. had abolished the form of ordination as instituted by the Church of Rome: not only their appointment, (by the king, during pleasure,) but their consecration (without the Papal palls, bulls, or provisions) were, in the reign of Mary, accordingly declared informal and void; and they were therefore ejected from their respective sees. This right of deposition was exercised by Mary as the sovereign of England—the ground on which Elizabeth deprived the bishops ordained in her sister's reign of their episcopal character. The question was not, however, as to the exercise of a legitimate power. As sovereigns of England and heads of the Anglican Church, they were alike invested with supreme prerogatives.

* The Puseyites are laboring with indefatigable zeal to restore the English clergy to the line of apostolic succession, with flattering prospects of success.

The point on which the controversy turns is, were the ordinations under Edward and Elizabeth conformable with the rites of the *Mother Church* of Rome? or were they newly instituted, under a distinct ecclesiastical establishment? The parties have themselves decided — by the Papists rejecting the consecrations in the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth, and denying their validity; and those sovereigns, in their turn, ejecting from office all ecclesiastics holding benefices under the Papal Church. Each party had undoubtedly an exclusive jurisdiction in its own case. The Anglican Church, established on the principles of Gospel truth, was reared on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; and necessarily differed in its essential features from the idolatrous Church of Rome. If, in many of its external forms, and in organization of government, it still preserved some features of resemblance, these could not affect its unity and distinctness of character. Like other Protestant Churches of that period, it incurred the maledictions and anathemas of Rome, for having withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Pope, instituted its own rites and forms of worship, and established its own priesthood.

Archbishop Parker, having been thus consecrated to the office, proceeded to ordain fourteen bishops, appointed by Elizabeth as supreme head of the Church, in the place of those she had deposed: and thus commenced a new line of succession in the Anglican episcopacy.

The history of the times affords evidences of many difficulties and objections having been urged against the validity of those acts. The Protestant Church of England had no existence during the reign of Mary, or from 1553 to 1558. The statutes of the Parliaments by which it was established in the reign of Edward, were all repealed. The supremacy of the Pope was again acknowledged. Monasteries were erected, the tithes and first-fruits were remitted to Rome, all orders of ecclesiastics received preferments through the Papal See, the rites and doctrines of the Romish Church were universally restored; and, in fine, the whole system of the Popish Hierarchy was re-established in England. The entire ecclesiastical structure, founded on the laws of the realm in the reign of Edward VI., vanished with the unqualified abrogation of those laws. Whatever of apostacy there was in the Romish Church at that period attached itself equally

to its branch in England. It was a Popish Church in title and character, and all vestiges of Protestant Episcopacy were effectually obliterated in the nation.

"When, therefore, Matthew Parker was nominated to be Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1559, and a commission was issued to certain bishops to perform the ceremony of consecration, according to the newly prescribed form, some of them refused to comply, alleging that such a consecration would not be valid. She then issued a commission to such persons as she knew would not refuse, but whose episcopal authority was much to be doubted. There were at the time but six surviving bishops of the reign of Edward—Scory, Bishop of Chichester, Coverdale of Exeter, Barlow of Bath, two suffragan bishops of Bedford and Thetford, and one bishop of Ossory, in Ireland. One of them only had been consecrated in the time of Henry VIII. When Elizabeth directed her mandate to Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins, for the ordination of Parker, she found it necessary (to remove all scruples from their consciences) to give them leave, by her spiritual supremacy and universal jurisdiction, to dispense, *to themselves*, with all former Church laws which should be transgressed, in electing, consecrating, and investing the archbishop. But to remove all the objections which were afterward urged against this act of consecration, the whole matter was referred to the Parliament, and an act was passed, 8th Eliz. c. 1, confirming its validity, and making legal the ordinations performed by the archbishop himself. The formality of the archbishop's consecration was strongly disputed, moreover, on the ground, that the bishops who officiated had no dioceses at the time,* having been lawfully ejected from their sees in the reign of Queen Mary, and not again canonically restored." (Smyth's Apost. Success.) It was under such circumstances that the Protestant Church was once more established in England, and the present system of episcopacy introduced.

* Pope Leo I. affirmed that ordination, without a charge or authority, is void—*"Vana est habenda ordinatio, quæ nec loco fundata est, nec auctoritate munita."* Such bishops have been entitled *nulla tenentes*, and sometimes bishops *in partibus infidelium*. The Council of Chalcedon, in the middle of the fifth century, confirmed the judgment of Leo by declaring in its 6th canon, that such can nowhere officiate, and consequently, that their ministrations are null and void. On this void ordination was founded the consecration of Archbishop Parker.

It was the policy of Elizabeth to proceed in religious innovations by such measures as were least calculated to excite in the Papists an open or decided opposition to the new forms of worship. The resemblance which the Liturgy, recently restored by act of Parliament, still bore to the Romish service, had a tendency to reconcile at least the moderate of that party to the established religion. No other mode of public worship, it is true, was permitted, but in this revision of the "Second Book" of King Edward many things offensive to them were omitted in the new compilation. Modifications were made in the communion service. The expression, "deliver us from the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities," was excluded. The direct acknowledgment of the Pope's supremacy seemed the only important concession required by them. Elizabeth was disposed, from her natural fondness for pageantry and gorgeous exhibitions, to retain many of the imposing rites of the ancient worship, which the rigid Reformers zealously opposed. "It was," says Hume, "merely in compliance with the prejudices of her party, that she gave up either images, or the addresses to saints, or prayers for the dead." Her spiritual supremacy was her most highly valued prerogative. This was the strongest barrier to her reconciliation with the Romish Church. It does not appear that she ever entirely released her mind from its bias in favor of the absurd doctrine of Transubstantiation.* She long kept a crucifix with tapers burning before it in her chapel. With difficulty she was persuaded to assent to the marriage of the clergy: this was effected by the influence of Cecil. She was opposed to the preaching of sermons: and one of the ministers of the Gospel had the boldness to tell her, from the pulpit, that "she was like an untamed heifer, that would not be ruled by God's people, but obstructed his discipline."

Were we to form an opinion of the popular sentiment of that

* When Nowel, one of her chaplains, had spoken less reverently, in a sermon preached before her, of the sign of the cross, she called aloud from her closet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digress, and to return unto his text. And, on the other side, when one of her divines had preached a sermon in defence of the real presence, she openly gave him thanks for his pains and piety. (Hume.) She ordered all passages in the Liturgy of Edward offensive to the Papists to be stricken out, and to make them easy on the subject of the corporeal presence.

age on the subject of religion, from their dramatic productions and exhibitions, we would suppose that there existed either an indifference, or a remarkable spirit of toleration, on the part of the Reformers. The rites and doctrines of the Popish Church were seldom made the subjects of obloquy or ridicule. Its orders of clergy were generally represented under favorable points of view. Shakspeare, the favorite in the court of Elizabeth, alluded to the superstitions of the Romanists without censure, and even with respect if not with reverence. The Ghost of Hamlet's father complains that he was cut off even in the blossoms of his sin,

Unhouse'd, disappointed, unanel'd ;

and that he is doomed for a certain term to walk the night ;

And, for the day, confin'd too fast in fires,
Till the foul crimes, done in his days of nature,
Are burnt and purg'd away.*

Another dramatist of the age transgressed the rules of propriety and truth, even so far as to introduce the character of a pious Jesuit.

The new edition of the Liturgy, made in the first year of Elizabeth's reign, was more deeply tainted with Romanism than the book of Edward, which was adopted as the standard of faith and of worship in 1552. The habits enjoined by the ritual of 1549, and forbidden by that of 1552, were now restored. Prayers for the queen and clergy were added at the end of the Litany ; and the ordinary was empowered "to appoint that part of the church which was most convenient for the performance of the service, instead of confining the minister, as heretofore, to the chancel." In the year 1568, however, when the influence of the Puritans began to show itself in the affairs of the Church as well as of the State, a more violent spirit of religious innovation arose

* Warburton says, that Shakspeare, apparently through ignorance, makes Roman Catholics of these pagan Danes ; and here gives a description of purgatory, but mixes it with pagan fable. Whether he did it to insinuate to the zealous Protestants of his time, that the pagan and Popish purgatory stood both upon the same footing of credibility, or whether it was by the same kind of licentious inadvertence that Michael Angelo brought Charon's bark into his picture of the Last Judgment, is not easy to decide. (Edition of Shakspeare.)

in the nation, and the altar was removed from the wall and placed in the middle of the church. The Liturgy, as a directory of worship, remained unchanged until the first year of the reign of James I., or in 1604. The disputes fomented and encouraged by the Puritans occasioned another revision of the Book of Common Prayer. The king, by his own authority, but sustained by the approval of the ruling members of the Church, made important additions to the ritual. "Among these were the thanksgivings for several occasions, the collect for the royal family, and a petition to the same purport in the Litany. The definitions of the sacraments were now also added; and it was now ordered that henceforth none but ordained ministers should be allowed, as was formerly the case, to administer baptism." In the ninth year of Charles I., or in 1633, some unimportant alterations were made by royal authority. But in the thirteenth year* of Charles II., or in 1661, a commission was appointed to revise the Book of Common Prayer. "This consisted of twelve Episcopalians, with nine assistants, on one side, and an equal number of Presbyterians on the other." Their conferences were held in the Savoy; but from the irreconcilable differences of opinion which prevailed among the commissioners nothing was accomplished, and the subject was referred to the convocation. "By the advice of this assembly, the prayers upon particular occasions were disjoined from the Litany; and the two prayers to be used in the Ember Weeks, the prayer for the Parliament, that for all sorts and conditions of men, and the general thanksgiving, were added. A Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, were appointed for the sixth Sunday after Epiphany. The services for King Charles' martyrdom, and for the Restoration, were inserted. The portions of Scripture for the Gospels and Epistles were selected from the new translation of the Bible, the Psalms alone being left according to the earlier version by Cranmer (the edition published in London, in the year 1539); the office of baptism of those of riper years, and the forms of prayer to be used at sea, were added; and two psalms were also inserted, in addition to those then used, in the

* The commencement of this monarch's reign is dated in the year 1649, from the death of Charles I., and not in the year of his actual accession, or 1660. The era of the commonwealth is not inserted in parliamentary history.

burial service. The Liturgy was thus brought to its present state. It was unanimously subscribed by both houses of convocation of both provinces, on Friday, the 20th of December, 1561; and in May, 1562, was formally established by Parliament."

The Articles of Confession drawn up by Cranmer, with the assistance of Bucer and Martyr, in 1551, and confirmed by Parliament in the following year, were remodelled by Archbishop Parker soon after his installation. There were forty-two articles; four of these he excluded, inserting others in their places; and seventeen were amended. In the convocation at London, in the year 1562, this Confession of Faith was subjected to another revision, "for the avoiding," as it was expressed, "of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion." Alterations were again made in the phraseology of some of the articles, and the number was reduced to thirty-eight. At a final review, made in 1571, the thirty-ninth was added. "The Book of Articles, thus revised and perfected, by the assent and consent of the sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c., was deliberately read, and confirmed again by the subscription of the hands of the archbishops and bishops of the Upper House, and by the subscription of the whole clergy of the Nether House in their convocation, in the year of our Lord, 1571." "A great similarity in thought and expression," says a writer, "may be traced between many of the Articles and the language of the Augsburg Confession." The seventeenth Article (on predestination and election) bears the undoubted impress of Calvinism, and may have proceeded from the joint labors of Peter Martyr and other divines who were disciples of the Geneva school.

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.*

OF FAITH IN THE HOLY TRINITY.

ARTICLE 1st. There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts or passions; of infinite power, wisdom and

* The Church of England requires subscription, upon ordination, to the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the three articles of the 36th canon, which relate to the supremacy of the king.

goodness ; the maker and preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three persons, of one substance, power and eternity : the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

OF THE WORD, OR SON OF GOD, WHICH WAS MADE VERY MAN.

ART. 2d. The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, and of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance ; so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and manhood, were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man, who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men.

OF THE GOING DOWN OF CHRIST INTO HELL.

ART. 3d. As Christ died for us, and was buried, so also is it to be believed that he went down into hell.

OF THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST.

ART. 4th. Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature ; wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth, until he return to judge all men at the last day.

OF THE HOLY GHOST.

ART. 5th. The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty and glory with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

OF THE SUFFICIENCY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES FOR SALVATION.

ART. 6th. Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation ; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of the Holy Scriptures, we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testa-

ment of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church, &c., &c.

And the other books (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine,* &c., &c.

All the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them canonical.

OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

ART. 7th. The Old Testament is not contrary to the New; for, both in the Old and New Testament, everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard which feign that the old Fathers did look only for transitory promises. Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any commonwealth, yet, notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments, which are called moral.

OF THE THREE CREEDS.

ART. 8th. The three Creeds—Nicene Creed, Athanasius' Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed—ought thoroughly to be received and believed;† for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.

OF ORIGINAL, OR BIRTH SIN.

ART. 9th. Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk,) but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam; whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit;

* The Apocrypha is wholly rejected by other orthodox churches.

† The Common Prayer Book of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, adopted in 1789, omits the Athanasian Creed; and leaves the officiating minister the discretionary power to substitute "he went into the place of departed spirits," for "he descended into hell."

and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerated; whereby the lust of the flesh—called in the Greek, *phronema sarkos*, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh—is not subject to the law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

OF FREE WILL.

ART. 10th. The condition of man, after the fall of Adam, is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God: Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will.

OF THE JUSTIFICATION OF MAN.

ART. 11th. We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings: Wherefore, that we are justified by faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

OF GOOD WORKS.

ART. 12th. Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment; yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith; insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known, as a tree discerned by the fruit.

OF WORKS BEFORE JUSTIFICATION.

ART. 13th. Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as

they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or, (as the school-authors say,) deserve grace of congruity : yea, rather, for that they are not done as God had willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

OF WORKS OF SUPEREROGATION.

ART. 14th. Voluntary works besides, over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety : For by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required ; whereas Christ saith plainly—When ye have done all that are commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants.

OF CHRIST ALONE WITHOUT SIN.

ART. 15th. Christ, in the truth of our nature, was made like unto us in all things (sin only excepted,) from which he was clearly void, both in his flesh and in his spirit. He came to be the Lamb without spot, who, by sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the world ; and sin, as St. John saith, was not in him. But all we, the rest, although baptized, and born again in Christ, yet offend in many things ; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

OF SIN AFTER BAPTISM.

ART. 16th. Not every deadly sin willingly committed after baptism is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again, and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned, which say, they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent.

OF PREDESTINATION AND ELECTION.

ART. 17th. *Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose

* See 12th Art. of the Confession of Faith of the French Protestant Church.

of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed, by his counsel, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind; and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honor. Wherefore, they which be indued with so excellent a benefit of God be called according to God's purpose by his Spirit working in due season: they, through God, obey the calling; they be justified freely; they be made sons of God by adoption; they be made like the image of his only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ; they walk religiously in good works; and, at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of predestination, and our election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the workings of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love toward God: so, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchedness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture; and, in our doings, that will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God.

OF OBTAINING ETERNAL SALVATION ONLY BY THE NAME OF CHRIST.

ART. 18th. They also are to be had accursed that presume to say, That every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature. For Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

OF THE CHURCH.

ART. 19th. The visible Church of Christ is a congregation

of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly administered, according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.*

As the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.

OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH.

ART. 20th. The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authorities in controversies of faith: And yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's word written; neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ, yet, as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation. \

OF THE AUTHORITY OF GENERAL COUNCILS.

ART. 21st. General councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes. And when they be gathered together, (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and word of God,) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in the things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scriptures.

OF PURGATORY.

ART. 22d. The Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration, as well of Images as of Reliques, and also Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God.

* The language of this article is not that which would have been used by the right advocates of the doctrine of apostolical succession. (See Appendix D.)

OF MINISTERING IN THE CONGREGATION.

ART. 23d. It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.*

OF SPEAKING IN THE CONGREGATION IN SUCH A TONGUE AS THE PEOPLE UNDERSTANDETH.

ART. 24th. It is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God, and the custom of the primitive Church, to have public prayer in the Church, or to minister the sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people.

OF THE SACRAMENTS.

ART. 25th. †Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace, and God's will toward us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.

There are two sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.

Those five commonly called sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are not to be counted for sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

The sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon,

* See 31st article of the Confession of Faith of the French Protestant Church.

† See the 34th and 35th articles of the Confession of Faith of the French Protestant Church.

or to be carried about ; but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation ; but they that receive them unworthily, purchase to themselves damnation, as St. Paul saith.

OF THE UNWORTHINESS OF MINISTERS WHICH HINDERS NOT THE
EFFECT OF THE SACRAMENTS.

ART. 26th. Although in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the ministration of the word and sacraments, yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and do minister by his commission and authority, we may use their ministry, both in hearing the word of God, and in receiving of the sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such, as by faith, and rightly, do receive the sacraments ministered unto them ; which be effectual, because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men.

Nevertheless, it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church, that inquiry be made of evil ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences ; and finally being found guilty, by just judgment be deposed.

OF BAPTISM.

ART. 27th. Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened ; but it is also a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the Church ; the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed ; faith is confirmed, and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God. The baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.

OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

ART. 28th. The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love the Christians ought to have among themselves one to

another, but rather is a sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death : Insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith, receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ ; and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is Faith.

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not, by Christ's ordinance, reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

OF THE WICKED WHICH EAT NOT THE BODY OF CHRIST IN THE
USE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

ART. 29th. The wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as St. Augustine saith) the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ, but rather, to their condemnation, do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.

OF BOTH KINDS.

ART. 30th. The cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay people, for both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.

OF THE ONE OBLATION OF CHRIST FINISHED UPON THE CROSS.

ART. 31st. The offering of Christ once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual ; and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ

for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.

OF THE MARRIAGE OF PRIESTS.

ART. 32d. Bishops, priests and deacons are not commanded by God's law either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage. Therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

OF EXCOMMUNICATE PERSONS, HOW THEY ARE TO BE AVOIDED.

ART. 33d. That person which by open denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the unity of the Church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as an heathen and publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the Church by a Judge that hath authority thereunto.

OF THE TRADITIONS OF THE CHURCH.

ART. 34th. It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, and utterly like ; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word. Whosoever, through his private judgment, willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like,) as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.

Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

OF THE HOMILIES.

ART. 35th. The second book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this article, doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth

the former book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward VI. ; and therefore we judge them to be read in churches by the ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood by the people.

THE NAMES OF THE HOMILIES.

- 1st. Of the right use of the Church.
- 2d. Against peril of idolatry.
- 3d. Of repairing and keeping clean of churches.
- 4th. Of good works : first, of fasting.
- 5th. Against gluttony and drunkenness.
- 6th. Against excess of apparel.
- 7th. Of prayer.
- 8th. Of the place and time of prayer.
- 9th. That common prayers and sacraments ought to be ministered in a known tongue.
- 10th. Of the reverend estimation of God's word.
- 11th. Of Alms-doing.
- 12th. Of the nativity of Christ.
- 13th. Of the passion of Christ.
- 14th. Of the resurrection of Christ.
- 15th. Of the worthy receiving of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.
- 16th. Of the gifts of the Holy Ghost.
- 17th. For the Rogation-Days.
- 18th. Of the state of matrimony.
- 19th. Of repentance.
- 20th. Against idleness.
- 21st. Against rebellion.

OF CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS AND MINISTERS.

ART. 36th. The book of consecration of archbishops and bishops, and ordering of priests and deacons, lately set forth in the time of Edward VI., and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering ; neither hath it any thing that of itself is superstitious and ungodly. And therefore whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to the rites of that book, since the second year of the fore-named King Edward unto this time, or hereafter shall

be consecrated or ordered according to the same rites, we deem all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.

OF THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE.

ART. 37th. The king's majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, and other his dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the king's majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended, we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word or of the sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth, our queen, do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in Holy Scriptures by God himself; that is, that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.

The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.

The laws of the realm may punish Christian men with death, for heinous and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars.

OF CHRISTIAN MEN'S GOODS, WHICH ARE NOT COMMON.

ART. 38th. The riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding, every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

OF THE CHRISTIAN MAN'S OATH.

ART. 39th. As we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christ, and James his apostle, so we judge that Christian religion doth not prohibit,

but that a man may swear, when the magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the prophet's teaching, in justice, judgment, and truth.

It may be remarked here, that in the manuscripts and earliest editions of these Articles of Confession, there is one important variation in the admission or rejection of the first clause of the 20th Article, the authority of which may be considered as virtually recognizing and establishing it. This power in the Church of England to decree rites or ceremonies is not, however, a discretionary one; as Parliament, (by whose authority the Church was created, and from whom, as its creature, the Church derives whatever privileges it enjoys,) by two several statutes in the first year of Elizabeth's reign, vested in her, as the supreme spiritual head or governess of the Church, the unlimited prerogative of ordaining or abolishing any religious rite or ceremony. Whatever, therefore, is affirmed in the Thirty-nine Articles, either of government, doctrines, or rites, should be considered as having been affirmed by permission or order of her royal highness, and not by virtue of any inherent authority or spiritual power appertaining to the ecclesiastical system as established in the kingdom. The Church but declares the religious opinions of the sovereign. Its decrees are the mandates of the throne. This peculiar characteristic of the Church of England should not escape our recollection in the progress of its history.*

The reign of Elizabeth was the most critical period of the Protestant religion in England, and the government of the several parties in the kingdom required a firm and judicious exercise of her royal prerogatives. Her own life was repeatedly menaced by the intrigues and machinations of the Jesuits. To these causes, doubtless, we must attribute those severe laws enacted at different times against the Papists, and the many arbitrary measures of the queen. It was in reference to these statutes that the President Montesquieu remarked of the laws in this reign, that "they are so rigorous, though not professedly of the sanguinary kind, that they do all the hurt that can possibly be

* By statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, the convocation, with the king's consent, was allowed to make canons for the order or government of the Church, &c.

done in cold blood." These Parliamentary provisions, for the security of the Protestant religion and the personal protection of Elizabeth, were directed more particularly against all persons professing the Popish religion, Popish recusants, and Popish priests.

In the year 1562, an act was passed (5 Eliz. c. 1.) for the "assurance of the queen's royal power over all States and subjects within her dominions," which declared, that the second offence of asserting the Pope's authority, either by writing, by word, or by deed, should be punished as treasonable; and which required all persons in holy orders, or advanced to any degree in the universities or in common law, all schoolmasters, officers in court, and members of Parliament, to take the oath of supremacy, under a penalty, for the first refusal or omission, of banishment and forfeiture; and, for the second, of being punished for treason. By the same Parliament rigorous laws were passed "against fond and fantastical prophecies, conjurations, enchantments and witchcraft."

Although the Puritans, as a distinct party, exercised no influence in the religious controversies of the kingdom, before the year 1568, their principles were developed at a much earlier period, and may indeed be traced back to the reign of Edward VI. The distinguishing feature of Puritanism was an uncompromising hostility to Popery, in all its varied forms and aspects: and hence it was, with scarcely less zeal, enlisted against the system of Episcopacy, introduced into the newly organized Church of the nation. This spirit of opposition to the superstitious observances of the Romish Church was first evinced in the refusal of Hooper, when appointed to the See of Gloucester, to be consecrated in the usual Episcopal habit—the cymarre and the rochette. He even submitted to imprisonment, rather than violate his conscience; but consented at length, under the condition, that the offensive vestments would be dispensed with in the ordinary discharge of his official duties.

The persecutions under Mary, obliged many of the most zealous Reformers to seek protection in foreign countries; and in their associations with the Protestants of Geneva and France, they imbibed still stronger prejudices against the rites of the Popish Church. On the accession of Elizabeth, and the re-establishment of the Protestant forms of worship, they returned to

England, and exhibited a marked odium of every vestige of the ancient superstitions, discernible in the recent ecclesiastical system. "The same objection," says Hume, "which had arisen with regard to the Episcopal habit, had been moved against the raiment of the inferior clergy; and the surplice in particular, with the tippet and corner cap, was a great object of abhorrence to many of the popular zealots." They found, however, many other vestiges of Popish superstition, in the Episcopal forms of worship: "for," says the same writer, "the fabric of the secular hierarchy was maintained entire; the ancient Liturgy was preserved, so far as was thought consistent with the new principles; many ceremonies, become venerable from age and preceding use, were retained; the splendor of the Romish worship, though removed, had at least given place to order and decency; the distinctive habits of the clergy, according to their different ranks, were continued," &c.

Those refugees, therefore, on their return to England, discovered in the new institution many traces of Romanism which they believed censurable; and considered the religious Reformation as imperfect without other and more radical innovations. To accomplish this, their efforts were cautiously, but unremittingly directed. The severe enactments against nonconformity, compelled them to an open, if not a willing, compliance with the established order. They were opposed, from principle, to Episcopacy, and objected to the Liturgy as too deeply tinged with the poisonous ingredients of Popery; but their sentiments were concealed by silence, and an outward conformity. They commenced their opposition by exclaiming against the minor observances of the Church—the wearing of the surplice—the confirmation of children—making the sign of the cross in baptism—kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper—bowing at the name of Jesus, &c.

Elizabeth, so far from countenancing these measures of reform, was disposed to assimilate the rites and ceremonies still more to those of the Romish Church; and was rigid in the enforcement of the laws against nonconformity. So intemperate and vehement was the zeal for reforming the abuses complained of, that the Puritans displayed their indignant feelings by treating the conformists with marked disrespect; reproached them for their obsequiousness and superstition; and, proceeding at

length, to other indignities, not only reviled them in the streets, but showed their indignation and contempt by spitting in their faces. Thus were there three religious parties in the kingdom: the Conformists, or as they were termed, the Churchmen, the Puritans, and the Papists.

As the Puritans occupy a conspicuous page in the civil, as well as in the ecclesiastical history of England from this period; and as, in the language of Hume, "it was to this sect, whose principles appear so frivolous, and habits so ridiculous, that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution;" it will not be irrelevant here to refer more particularly to their origin and extension through the different eras of the Church. This title was applied to the earliest religious reformers of which we have any record.

As early as the third century the sect of the Novatians appeared in Western Europe, and even in Rome itself, who claimed to be the only true Church; and from the strictness of their discipline, the *purity* of their lives, and the soundness of their doctrine, were called by the Latins, *Cathari*.* The Apostle Paul had applied this term to those "who held the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience," (*en kathara sunietesei*,) declaring "that unto the pure (*tois katharois*) all things are pure: but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure." "Novatian," says Robinson, in his ecclesiastical researches, "saw with extreme pain the intolerable depravity of the Church." They professed, in the language of the Apostle, that they knew God; but in works they denied him, being abominable, and even in their mind and conscience defiled, being unto every good work reprobate. The term *Cathari* was also applied to the Paulicians, who, according to Milner, "were a plain, unassuming, harmless, and industrious race of Christians; condemning, by their doctrines and manners, the whole apparatus of the reigning idolatry and superstition; placing true religion in the faith and love of Christ, and retaining a supreme regard for the divine word." The term was in a subsequent age applied to the Waldenses, the descendants of the Paulicians and Novatians, but corrupted to *Gazari*: and these in the sixteenth century were denominated *Huguenots*, supposed by some to be derived from the Flemish word *Hugue-*

* This title was applied by their enemies as one of derision and scorn.

nen, which means *Cathari*. For the same reason the Albigenses were called *Cathares*.

The Greek term *kathari*, or (Anglice) *Puritans*, has been applied, in every age of the Church, from the days of the apostles to the present time, to those "who held the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience," and who have been the faithful witnesses of the truth. In England, it was employed to designate, from the Reformers generally, those who desired a thorough purification of the Church, established by law, from every vestige of Popery. "What has Christ Jesus," they said, "to do with Belial? What has darkness to do with light? If surplices, corner caps, and tippets have been badges of idolaters, in the very act of their idolatry, why should the preacher of Christian liberty, and the open rebuker of all superstition, partake with the dregs of the Romish beast? Yea, who is there that ought not rather to be afraid of taking in his hand, or on his forehead, the print and mark of that odious beast?" In a collective sense the Puritans maintained the doctrines set forth in the Articles of Confession. The fundamental principles of this summary of faith, are those contained in the word of God; and were, more than four hundred years before, the basis of the confession of the Vaudois. They harmonized with the Churchmen on point of doctrine, until the days of Archbishop Laud, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the English clergy generally abjured the tenets of the Thirty-nine Articles, and adopted those of Arminius.

During the dispersion of the English Protestants on the continent in the reign of Mary, the rigid Reformers were the objects of reproach and even of hatred with the German Lutherans. Melancthon, however, received them with friendship and cordiality, and defended their character from the obloquy of their enemies. "Those English martyrs," they said, "are the martyrs of the devil." Melancthon condemned the uncharitableness of their accusations; and in one of his letters, he remarks, "Who will not detest this perversity of judgment." It was at Frankfort that the English exiles were the most numerous, and there appears to have been laid the foundation of the divisions and controversies, between those Reformers entertaining different views on the subjects of rites and ceremonies, which were transferred to England with their return, and so long after distracted that kingdom.

The Puritan zeal for Reformation exhibited itself in the Parliament which convened in the year 1566, by the introduction of seven bills on the subject of religious rites. In 1571, five years having intervened between the meetings of that body, renewed efforts were made to accomplish the desired object ; and another attempt was hazarded to amend the Liturgy. The objection urged, by the member who introduced the bill, to the existing ritual, was the signing of the cross in baptism. Another condemned kneeling at the sacrament : and said, that " if a posture of humiliation was requisite in that act of devotion, it were better that the communicants should throw themselves prostrate on the ground, in order to keep at the widest distance from former superstition." Elizabeth, however, was offended that Parliament should presume to encroach upon her rightful prerogatives by entertaining any discussion on a question touching the doctrine, discipline or worship of the Church, over which she claimed an exclusive jurisdiction and authority as its supreme spiritual head, or governess. " She never would," she said, " allow her Parliaments so much as to take these points into consideration." The queen had been undoubtedly invested with full powers, not only in dictating to the Church its rites and doctrines, but in adopting measures for the suppression of heresies. The proceedings in Parliament, therefore, evinced a spirit of insubordination to her spiritual authority, which, although feebly exerted at the time, and was even repressed, assumed a bolder tone, and a firmer determination of purpose, as the principles of Puritanism became more deeply implanted in the breasts of the people. The queen was told that questions which involved the eternal interests of the soul could not be superseded by those connected with the temporal prerogatives of princes : that subsidies, crowns, kingdoms, and all worldly considerations, sunk into insignificance when compared with those great spiritual concerns in which all classes of men were equally interested.

Elizabeth was accustomed to maintain her sovereignty with the despotic temper characteristic of her family, and resented, by decisive measures, language which she deemed incompatible with her dignity and honor. The member who introduced the bill for reforming the Liturgy was arraigned before her council, and ordered to retire from his seat in Parliament. By this procedure she violated the privileges of the House, and the consti-

tutional rights of a representative of the people. The House itself was disposed to view it as an encroachment upon their liberties; and an animated discussion arose, in which it was plainly intimated, that there were certain rights appertaining to them, as a legislative branch of the government, which should be preserved inviolate; that the prerogatives of the crown, although supreme in their appropriate sphere, were limited as regarded those rights; and that the sovereign, being a branch only of the legislative powers in the kingdom, was restricted by the laws of the realm; neither could he dispense with them, nor abrogate them at will. Such were the principles advanced by the Puritans: which, although novel in that age of arbitrary despotism, and utterly at variance with the practices of the government, were received with approbation by the reflecting portion of the nation, and were destined to exert a powerful influence at a subsequent period, in the administration of its affairs. Here was the dawn of the civil liberty of England.

The opinions of the Churchmen were at variance with those noble sentiments; and they contended strenuously for the ancient prerogatives of the crown. They warned the House to be circumspect in matters touching the undoubted authority of the queen; and maintained, that "the sovereign's prerogative is not so much as disputable." "In questions of divinity," it was added, "every man was, for his instruction, to repair to his ordinary; and the bishops themselves, for their instruction, must repair to the queen." Precedents were referred to, for the purpose of establishing the undoubted power of the queen to arrest, and even to imprison, a member of Parliament for indulging beyond a certain latitude in debate; and an instance was adduced of a bishop having been committed to prison by the king, for exercising too great freedom of speech; and "the Parliament," it was said, "presumed not to go further than to be humble suitors for him." The queen, by an act of gracious condescension, permitted the excluded member to resume his seat; and thus seemed not to have yielded her prerogative.

With equal adroitness she suspended the discussion, which had been continued in the Commons on other bills with regard to religion, by assuring them, through the House of Lords, that she approved of the measures embraced in those bills; and that, "by virtue of her royal authority, as supreme head of the Church of

England, she would oblige the bishops to execute them, but that she would not permit them to be treated of in Parliament." By a forfeiture of her royal pledge, she arrested the agitation of these delicate questions, and succeeded, for a time, in silencing those angry disputations. In these incipient contests between the Commons and the throne, the latter was triumphant; and the queen not only asserted, but sustained, in the end, her high pretensions to supremacy in Church and State.

Among the principal laws passed by this Parliament were, the statute, (13 Eliz. c. 1,) "which declared it treason, during the lifetime of the queen, to affirm that she was not the lawful sovereign; or that any other possessed a preferable title; or that she was a heretic, schismatic, or infidel; or that the laws and statutes cannot limit and determine the right of the crown, and the successor thereof," &c.: the statute which also declared to be treason, the publication of absolutions, by bulls, or other rescripts of the Pope; and the reconciling any man to the Church of Rome. The penalty of a *præmunire* was imposed on every one who imported any *Agnus Dei*, crucifix, or other implement of superstition, consecrated by the Pope.

CHAPTER XIII.

WE have thus far traced the Parliamentary history of the Church of England. We have confined our observations to the events more immediately connected with the progress of its institution. Its organization was the work of the government; and, subjected as it was, by the statutes of the realm, to the supreme rule of the sovereign, it can be viewed in no other light than as a part of the political system of the empire, directed by officers of the crown, entitled archbishops, bishops, and priests, who act under commissions received from its temporal head, and held under the tenure annexed to the civil offices in the kingdom. But we must now revert to periods over which we have already passed, and trace the history of this politico-ecclesiastical establishment under a different aspect.

In pursuing the progress of religious Reformation in the several countries of Europe, the different advances which have been made by them in the struggles for the rights of conscience have been already referred to, so far as we have proceeded in their respective histories. There are, however, two nations as yet but incidentally alluded to, and as their religious movements were intimately connected with those in England, it will be proper here to advert to them, to elucidate more clearly the progress of the Reformation in England, and to preserve that synchronical order which has been so far adhered to, as a continuity of the narrations of events apparently unconnected could be observed.

Christianity was introduced into Scotland in the sixth century, under the simple form of the Culdean mode of worship. It is believed that the institutions of Columba may be traced in the western regions of that kingdom as late as the commencement of the sixteenth century. It was not, however, before the close

of the eleventh, that entire conformity with the corrupt system of the Popish worship was established by the authority of the government. This was accomplished in the reign of Malcolm III., surnamed Canmore from the largeness of his head, through the influence of his bigoted queen, Margaret, an Anglo-Saxon princess. Early in the fifteenth century there were records of Christian martyrdoms under Popish persecutions; and these were continued, with more or less severity, throughout that century, for the suppression of Lollardy.

We have no similar instance of impetuosity of zeal, and of a simultaneous and decided movement of the people against the superstitious rites of the Roman Hierarchy, to that exhibited in Scotland, from the period of Elizabeth's accession to the throne of England. The populace seemed never to have looked on the cruel executions of the Reformers by the Popish clergy with that complacency and tolerance displayed by the commonalty in other countries. There was undoubtedly a remarkable feature in the Reformation in that kingdom. It appears to have been taken up at once, and by a sudden impulse, from the year 1558, and carried through to its consummation, against the will of the reigning sovereign and the united efforts of the clergy, by violence and open defiance of the civil authorities. It was only by such an indomitable spirit, and by the point of the sword, that the Reformers in any age have ever succeeded in repelling the cruel persecutions of the Papists. Submission to their power, has always invited aggressions: firm and manly resistance seldom failed to force them to concessions.

As early as the year 1527 the auto da fé was again lighted up in Scotland, and one of the first victims was Patrick Hamilton, a man distinguished by birth and education. He was the nephew, paternally, of the Earl of Arran, and maternally, of the Duke of Albany. Educated in the University of Marburg, Hesse-Cassel, he imbibed the Reform principles of the celebrated German divines from Luther and Melancthon; and although honors and preferments in the Romish Church were tendered to him, on his return to Scotland, he adhered to those doctrines, and fearlessly taught them. He was convicted of heresy, and perished at the stake, exclaiming, "How long, O Lord! how long shall darkness overwhelm this kingdom? and how long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of these men?"

Henry Forest, a friar of Lithgow, not long after the execution of Hamilton, convinced of the fallacies of Popery, openly declared that he had died a martyr to the truth. This attracted the attention of his fraternity, and he was arraigned before James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's. He was pronounced "a heretic, equal in iniquity with Patrick Hamilton," and accordingly condemned to the flames. Many others were at the same time accused of heresy for having given testimony of the truth of Christ and the Gospel. Two of them who refused to recant were burnt in the year 1534.

Clement VII., who occupied the chair of St. Peter at the time of these occurrences, felt the most earnest apprehensions from the progress of the Reformation in Scotland, and urged the king to continue steadfast in the Popish faith, and not to relax his energies in suppressing the heretical opinions which were rapidly pervading his kingdom. Henry VIII., on the other hand, sent Barlow, the Bishop of St. David, to James V., with books in defence of the measures he had adopted within his own dominions against the Papal Hierarchy. He proposed to him, by the same embassy, an interview at York, and a marriage between him and the Princess Mary. James, however, influenced by the ecclesiastics, threw the books into the fire, delayed his interview with the King of England, and soon after, or in 1536, married Magdalene,* the daughter of Francis I., of France.

In the mean time, the nobility, anxious to seize the possessions of the Church, recommended to James the expedients resorted to by his uncle for replenishing his treasury, and to confiscate the property of the clerical orders. To avert this, the clergy offered the immediate gratuity of fifty thousand pounds, and promised to be prompt at all times to contribute such supplies as may be required of them from the throne. They moreover suggested, that a much larger revenue might be derived from the confiscation of heretics. These counsels, aided by the young queen, Mary of Lorraine, whom James had married after the death of Magdalene, prevailed; and the throne sustained the persecuting spirit of the Romish clergy.

* After her death James married Mary, the daughter of Claudius, Duke of Guise, of the House of Lorraine. She was the mother of the celebrated Mary, Queen of Scots.

Among those who suffered martyrdom at this period were Norman Gourlay and David Stratton, who denied that there was such a place as purgatory, and affirmed that the Pope was not a bishop, but Antichrist, and had no jurisdiction in Scotland. After these, or in 1538, Thomas Forret was arraigned before the Bishop of Dunkeld, "as a heretic, and one that showed the mysteries of the Scriptures to the vulgar people, in their own language, to make the clergy detestable in their sight." Forret was a dean, and the bishop censured him "for preaching the Epistle or Gospel every Sunday to his parishioners, and for not taking the cow and the uppermost cloth from them"—"which," he told him, "was very prejudicial to the churchmen." "By preaching every Sunday," said the bishop, "you make the people believe that *we* should also preach. It is enough for you, when you find any good epistle, or any good gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the Holy Church, to preach that, and let the rest be." "None of my parishioners," replied Forret, "complain that I take not from them the cow and the uppermost cloth; and as your lordship saith it is too much to preach every Sunday, I think it is too little, and would wish that your lordship did the like." "Nay, nay," cried the bishop, "let that be, *for we are not ordained to preach.*" "Your lordship," said Forret, "biddeth me preach, when I find any good epistle or a good gospel; truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the Epistles and Gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil epistle or an evil gospel; but if your lordship will show me the good epistle and the good gospel, and the evil epistle and the evil gospel, then I shall preach the good and omit the evil." "I thank God," rejoined the Bishop, "*that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was*; therefore, Dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuise and pontifical. Go your way, and let be all these fantasies, for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, ye will repent when you may not mend it." Forret, however, did not escape, for he was soon after brought before the Archbishop of St. Andrew's; and he and four others, Killor, Beverage, Simson and Foster, were burnt together on the Castle-Hill, at Edinburgh.

These martyrdoms were continued, with little intermission, under the administration of Beaton. "He would rather," says McGavin, "have seen half the nation brought to the stake and

burnt, than that one man should be allowed to read the Bible, and form his own judgment of its contents." Neither age nor sex could rescue the convicted. In 1543, four men were hanged for eating goose on All-hallows eve, being a fast day according to the Romish superstition; a woman, with her infant child, was put into a sack and drowned, for not praying to the Virgin Mary; another martyr was burnt, for having carved in wood a three-crowned diadem of Peter, which the Archbishop said was done in mockery of his cardinal's hat.

James V. of Scotland died of a broken heart in December, 1542. His nobility, disaffected towards him on account of the preference which he had given to the clergy, refused to attend him in his invasion of the English territories. His army was signally defeated at Solway; and some of the principal noblemen who had engaged in the enterprise were taken prisoners, and sent to London.

Mary (the celebrated Queen of Scots) was only eight days old when her father died. The kingdom was distracted both by political and religious parties. The recent defeat at Solway had exposed the country to the incursions of the English forces. The Scots were a brave and martial people, and unaccustomed to the government of a queen. The late king had made no provision for a regency during the minority of his infant daughter and heiress. In his despondency, not long before his death, he remarked, that "the crown came with a woman, and it will go with one. Many miseries await this poor kingdom. Henry will make it his own, either by force of arms, or by marriage."

Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, on whom the Pope bestowed a cardinal's hat, with a view of giving greater dignity to his high station as the Primate of Scotland, forged a will, by which he and three noblemen were appointed to the regency. With this pretension, countenanced and sustained by the queen-dowager, the sister of the Guises, and a bigoted Papist, he seized the government. The fraud was soon after detected, and exposed. The nobility generally maintained the claims of James, Earl of Arran, presumptive heir to the crown, as a lineal descendant of James III.; and the cardinal was deprived of his power, and imprisoned. By intrigue, however, he was released; and by the distribution of large sums of money, which were freely contributed by the clergy for that purpose, he succeeded in dis-

concerting the measures of the new administration. He at length acquired the ascendancy in the kingdom; the queen-dowager submitted implicitly to his authority; and the regent, a man indolent and unambitious, was brought entirely under his control.

For the purpose of strengthening the cardinal's faction, Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lenox, descended in the fourth degree from James II., was sent over from the court of Francis I. This nobleman, conscious of the influence he possessed, and being aspiring in his views, advanced his pretensions to the hand of the queen-dowager, and conducted himself in other respects with such an air of authority, that the primate soon discovered his own power would be restricted if the court were brought under the guidance of his counsels. Disappointed in his expectations, through the intrigues of the primate, Lenox withdrew to Dunbarton, the governor of which was devoted to his interests, and attached himself to the Protestant party. He soon collected an army of ten thousand men; but the prudence and the cunning artifice of Beaton frustrated his plans, and compelled him to accede to terms of compromise with the government. Henry, in this conflict of parties, threw the weight of his power and influence on the side of the Protestants; while the French King sustained the regency. In the following year, however, the commissioners of the belligerents convened at Campe, and a treaty of peace was agreed to between Scotland, France and England, on the 27th of June, 1545.

The Cardinal Beaton having obtained an entire control over the administration of affairs, pursued with his wonted severity the adherents to the Reformed faith. Among the objects of his cruel persecutions was George Wishart, who had preached the new doctrines with intrepidity and zeal. Endowed with the peculiar talents of a popular preacher, with extensive acquirements, and of exemplary deportment, he enlisted the affections of the people, and deeply impressed the public mind with the truths of the Gospel. His success marked him out as a proper object of Papal vengeance. The Earl of Arran opposed the condemnation of Wishart, but Beaton having seized his prey, was determined upon his execution.

The prelates were assembled at St. Andrew's church for the trial of Wishart. The Archbishop of Glasgow proposed that the case be referred to some noblemen, who should try the accused under a commission from the regent, and thus avert from the

clergy the odium of convicting so popular a preacher. The regent advised the cardinal, in reply to his application for a commission, not to be precipitate in determining the case, "for, as to himself," he said, "he would not consent to his death before the cause was well examined; and if the cardinal should do otherwise, he would make protestation, that the blood of this man should be required at his hands." The cardinal, however, having resolved to proceed in the accomplishment of his purpose, replied to the regent in a haughty tone, informing him "that he had not written to him about this matter, as supposing himself to be any way dependent upon his authority, but from a desire that the prosecution and conviction of heretics might have a show of public consent; which, since he could not this way obtain, he would proceed in that way which to him appeared the most proper."

Wishart was accordingly arraigned before the ecclesiastical court; and his conviction having been predetermined by the primate was soon decided on by that bloody tribunal. When secured to the stake, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's placed himself on an eminence from which he might behold the execution, and enjoy the gratifying spectacle of his devoted victim writhing under the tortures of the conflagration. "This flame," said Wishart, when the fire was applied to the combustibles, "occasions trouble to my body, indeed, but it hath in no wise broken my spirit. But he who now so proudly looks down upon me from yonder lofty place," pointing to the cardinal, "shall ere long be as ignominiously thrown down as now he proudly lolls at his ease." "Thus died," says the martyrologist, "in confirmation of the Gospel of Christ, in the year 1546, a sincere believer, whose fortitude and constancy during his sufferings can only be imputed to the support of Divine aid, in order to fulfill that memorable promise, 'As is thy day, so shall thy strength be also.'"

The excessive cruelties of the primate at length aroused the popular indignation, and conspiracies were formed to release the Christian world of the savage monster—the severe scourge of the Christian Church. The disciples of the martyr, Wishart, resolved to avenge his murder, and, entering the primate's castle, before any suspicion was excited of their design, they went up to his apartment, and thrusting him through the body with a

sword, put an end to his wicked and blood-thirsty career. James Melvil, who led the conspirators and was the executioner of their plot, addressed him before the attack was made upon his person, and presenting to him the point of his sword, he said, "Repent thee of thy wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God, Mr. George Wishart, which albeit the flame of fire consumed before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon thee. For here, before my God, I protest, that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldst have done to me in particular, moved or moveth me to strike thee; but only because thou hast been, and remainest, an obstinate enemy of Christ Jesus and his holy Gospel."

"The death of Cardinal Beaton," says Fox, "for a short time, gave new spirits to the Reformed in all parts of Scotland; but their pleasing expectations were damped, when they discovered the disposition of his successor, John Hamilton, who was no less a rigid Papist, and violent persecutor of the Protestants, than his predecessor. No sooner did he assume the archiepiscopate than he dedicated the principal part of his time to the oppression of those who favored the Reform doctrine: many of whom he caused to be imprisoned till they recanted, and others who would not were banished the kingdom."

One of the early martyrdoms under the administration of the new primate was that of Adam Wallace, "for having said and taught, that the bread and wine on the altar, after the words of consecration, were not the real body and blood of Christ." He was burnt at Castle-Hill "as a heretic, too abandoned to receive any impression."

The sixteenth century was peculiarly the age of the revival of letters. The schools of philosophy were founded in almost every kingdom of Europe. The arts and sciences were cultivated and perfected, beyond the investigations and improvements of those of any preceding age. Theological instruction was carried to a high degree of refinement and purity. Scotland could boast of its Buchanan, who, as a historian, was polished and vigorous, and as a Latin poet, ranking among the highest of his age, was classical and refined. His version of the Psalms is a lasting monument of his genius and taste. Knox, with a severity of character which pointed him out as the great Re-

former of morals as well as of religious doctrines, was versed in the literature of his age. As a teacher of philosophy he was excelled by few in the subtleties of the dialectic art. Amid this general diffusion of mental light, such gross darkness enveloped the Romish priesthood that a large portion of the lower order of ecclesiastics believed, and maintained, that the New Testament was altogether the composition of Luther, and that the Old Testament only was the word of God. A remarkable instance of their profound ignorance occurred in an angry controversy which was held in the theological university of St. Andrew's, whether the *Paternoster* should be addressed to God or to the saints. Such were the spiritual instructors of the age, whose dogmas were required to be received by all Christian worshippers as the doctrines of the divine oracles. We have seen that the Bishop of Dunkeld triumphed in his ignorance of the Gospel, and thanked God that he never knew what the Old and New Testament was.

As Somerset, the Protector in England, was intent upon a union of the two kingdoms by a marriage between Edward and Mary, hostilities were again resumed by him with the view of effecting his object by force of arms. The battle of Pinkey in September, 1547, was disastrous to the Scots; and the Earl of Arran, who submitted himself to the guidance of the clergy, determined to avert a measure most dreaded by the Papal party, by removing the young queen to the French court. It was believed that by thus placing her beyond the reach of the Protector, Scotland would be relieved from the dangers of an invasion by the forces of England. Accordingly, in the following year she was transported in a French galley to Brest, and safely conducted to Paris.

In 1558, the queen-dowager, accompanied by D'Oisel as an ambassador from the French government, returned to Scotland, and succeeded, from the compliant temper of the regent, and by the influence of the principal nobility, in obtaining the regency of the kingdom during the minority of her daughter. Another important event soon after occurred, whose consequences affected the relations of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland through the greater part of the reign of Elizabeth, as well as the Reform interest in Scotland.

On the 14th of April, 1558, the nuptials between Mary and

Francis, the eldest son of Henry II., King of France, were duly solemnized. In the marriage treaty it was stipulated, that the dauphin should assume the title of King of Scotland, and that, although but in the fifteenth year of his age, the *crown matrimonial* should be conferred upon him, and that he should be invested with all the rights pertaining to the husband of the queen. The ambition of the Guises, the uncles of Mary, stimulated them to higher pretensions in her behalf; and by their influence, after the death of Mary, Queen of England, she assumed the arms of that kingdom as the rightful heiress of its throne.

This last unfortunate step, which seems not to have been approved of by the queen-dowager, occasioned an irreconcilable jealousy and rivalry between Elizabeth and Mary, and eventually brought the latter to the block. The Papal interest had here obtruded itself in the political relations of the three kingdoms. Rome justly apprehended the fearful consequences to its religion from the elevation of a Protestant sovereign to the throne of England, and all its influences were directed to defeat the succession of Elizabeth. Her birth had already been declared by the pontiff illegitimate, and her kingdom was now claimed as a fief of the Holy See, subject to the disposal of the ghostly Father who occupied the chair of St. Peter. To carry out these purposes, all the machinery of Papal power and intrigue was brought to bear against Elizabeth, and to precipitate her from the throne.

The strength of the Protestant party in Scotland presented a formidable barrier to the machinations of the Papists against the Queen of England. It became, therefore, a necessary part of their scheme, to overthrow that influence. The system of persecution which had been so rigorously enforced under the administration of Beaton, was not less strictly maintained by his successor. The last victim who suffered martyrdom under Hamilton, whom Fox entitles a "bigoted tyrant," was Walter Mille, a preacher in Angus, eighty-two years of age and infirm. At the stake he addressed the spectators with a perfect composure of mind in the following language: "The cause why I suffer this day," he said, "is not for any crime, (though I acknowledge myself a miserable sinner,) but only for the defence of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ; and I praise God who hath called me, by his mercy, to seal the truth with my life; which, as I received it

from him, so I willingly offer it up to his glory. Therefore, as you would escape eternal death, be no longer seduced by the lies of the seat of Antichrist; but depend solely on Jesus Christ, and his mercy, that you may be delivered from condemnation." He then added, that "he trusted he should be the last who would suffer death in Scotland, upon a religious account." So averse were the populace to the cruelties inflicted by the Popish clergy, that no one would assist in the execution. Fox informs us, that "a cord could not be found to tie him with after his condemnation; and the archbishop was compelled to take one from his pavilion for that purpose."

Hume has justly remarked, in reference to the policy pursued by the Papal authority at this period, that, "although such overgrown hierarchies may long support themselves by these violent expedients, the time comes when severities tend only to enrage the new sectaries, and make them break through all bounds of reason and moderation. This crisis was now visibly approaching in Scotland; and whoever considers merely the transactions resulting from it, will be inclined to throw the blame equally on both parties; whoever enlarges his views, and reflects on the situations, will remark the necessary progress of human affairs, and the operation of those principles which are inherent in human nature." In exhibitions, therefore, of unusual violence on both sides, in the conflict of parties, the proper inquiry should be, on which side were those acts of aggression and cruelties commenced, and whence arose the necessity of repelling the unprovoked attempt of one to overpower and to destroy the other? To the human mind, in the exercise of its noblest faculties, tyranny under all its forms is odious and repulsive; and the genius of the Scottish nation impelled the Reformers to resist the usurpations and oppressions of the Roman Hierarchy with a vehemence and an ardor of feeling characteristic of a people impetuous and warlike. If, aroused to a proper sense of the indignities, the injuries, and the cruelties exercised toward them by the Popish clergy, they carried their measures of resistance to an extreme which verged on vindictive retaliation, we must admit their justification by the aggravated circumstances of their case, and the necessity of a self-defence to which they were wantonly driven by the arbitrary acts of a domineering power. Indeed, the entire success which crowned their efforts, directed

as they appear to have been by even a wild and fanatical temper, must satisfy the most scrupulous, that milder measures of opposition would not have secured to them the religious privileges for which they were contending. The history of Popery sanctions the supposition.

"On the 3d of December, 1557, the Earl of Argyle, his son, Lord Lorne, the Earls of Morton and Glencairne, Erskine of Dun, and others, observing the danger to which they were exposed, and desirous to propagate their principles, entered privately into a bond, or association; and called themselves, *the Congregation of the Lord*, in contradistinction to the established Church, which they denominated, *the Congregation of Satan*. The tenor of the bond was as follows: "We, perceiving how Satan, in his members, the Antichrist of our time, do cruelly rage, seeking to overthrow and destroy the Gospel of Christ and his congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our master's cause, even unto the death, being certain of the victory in him. We do therefore promise, before the majesty of God, and his congregation, that we, by his grace, shall, with all diligence, continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish, the most blessed word of God, and his congregation; and shall labor, by all possible means, to have faithful ministers, truly and purely to minister Christ's Gospel and sacraments to his people; we shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, by our whole power, and at the hazard of our lives, against Satan, and all wicked power, who may intend tyranny and trouble against the said congregation: unto which holy word and congregation we do join ourselves; and we forsake and renounce the Congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof; and, moreover, shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto, by this faithful promise before God, testified to this congregation by our subscriptions. At Edinburg," &c. (Hume.)

It was during the persecutions that this association was formed; and we have undoubted evidence of the salutary influence which it exercised over the Papal party in Scotland, in the remarkable fact, that the execution of Walter Mille, which occurred a short time after, was "the last barbarity of the kind, which the Papists had the power to exercise."

This association of noblemen, who could maintain their principles by force of arms, seems to have paralyzed at once the spirit of their adversaries; and to have given a vigorous impulse to the cause of religious reformation in Scotland. They proceeded, by virtue of their own authority, to make those innovations in the rites and forms of worship which the change of religion demanded. They ordered the use of King Edward's Liturgy in all the churches in the kingdom, and that "preaching, and the interpretation of the Scriptures, should be practised in private houses, till God should move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers." The people, emboldened by the decided demonstrations in favor of the Reformed religion by those who had the physical power to defend it, gave an early exhibition of their feelings, by the violence committed during a procession in honor of the patron saint of Edinburg. On the eve of the festival of St. Giles, they secretly removed his image from the church. On the following day, or 1st of September, the clergy, not finding the object of their idolatry, carved another on the emergency, and this was borne with the customary solemnities through the streets. As soon, however, as the queen-regent withdrew from the procession, the idol was seized by the populace, and being broken into pieces, was cast into the mire. The priests fled in trepidation, and forsook their god. The event afforded to the crowd assembled on the occasion much merriment and laughter: a general shout was raised when the devout worshippers dispersed, and ran with precipitation from the scene of danger.

About the time of this occurrence, a Romish priest appeared in a congregation of Protestants at Perth; and after the Reformed preacher had concluded his discourse, he opened a case of images, which he exhibited to the public view, and commenced his preparations for saying mass. A youth, perceiving this, exclaimed, "God has plainly condemned idolatry in Scripture, shall we stand and see such an insult?" The offended priest ventured to strike him on the head; this incensed the multitude, who rose up, and destroyed every vestige of idolatrous worship in the church. But the popular indignation was not appeased by this act of violence. The crowd proceeded to the monasteries of the Gray and Black Friars, which they instantly stripped of their idols, and then demolished the house of

the Carthusians. Nothing was left of those noble buildings but their ruinous walls. (Fox.)

While these events were transpiring in Scotland, Mary, Queen of England, died, and Mary, Queen of Scots, married the Dauphin of France. The cheering prospects which were opened to the Reformers by the accession of Elizabeth, encouraged the laity of the Congregation to proceed with their measures, and to strengthen the popular expectation by decisive action. The marriage of Mary, and the known designs of the Papists, stimulated their energies to avert the dangers which threatened them from the throne. Actuated by these impulses, they were active in giving strength to the league, by procuring new subscriptions to their bond of association. Conscious, too, of being sustained by the popular sentiment, they advanced another step in their movement of reform: and presented a petition to the queen-regent, "craving a reformation of the Church, and of the wicked, scandalous, and detestable lives of the prelates and ecclesiastics." They prepared a petition to be presented to the Parliament, in which they declared, that "they could not communicate with the damnable idolatry and intolerable abuses of the Papistical Church;" and desired, "that the laws against heretics should be executed by the civil magistrate alone, and that the Scripture should be the sole rule in judging of heresy." They also petitioned the convocation; in which memorial they insisted "that prayers should be said in the vulgar tongue, and that bishops should be chosen with the consent of the gentry of the diocese, and priests with the consent of the parishioners."

The queen-regent, although bigoted in her religious opinions, was disposed to make such concessions as considerations of policy and of prudence dictated. She deemed *that* the wiser course which would preserve peace in the kingdom, and would have yielded, for a time at least, to some of the demands of the Protestant party. In other words, she would have temporized, until the great object she had in view was obtained; which was to secure the matrimonial crown to the dauphin. Her brothers, the Guises, whose influence was predominant in the court of France, and whose counsels controlled her conduct in the regency of Scotland, dictated decided measures against the further advance of the Reformation.

Determined by their counsels, she summoned the most emi-

t of the Protestant teachers to appear at Stirling. The pope, apprehending a design on the part of the government to inflict punishment upon them for having propagated doctrines alien to the ancient faith, collected from different points, and hearing in great numbers, evinced a determination to protect them. The regent induced them to disperse, by a voluntary promise that nothing would be done to the prejudice of the ministers. Immediately after, however, they were declared rebels by the council : and the people, provoked by her treachery, resolved to take up arms against her authority, in defence of the ministers, and for the overthrow of the established religion. It was at this particular crisis of the religious controversy in Scotland, that Knox returned from the continent.

John Knox was a native of Gifford, in Haddingtonshire, or West Lothian, Scotland ; and was born in the year 1505, four years before the birth of Calvin. He was educated at Haddington and St. Andrews ; and was afterward a teacher of philosophy in one of the colleges of the university. He attained to priesthood at an early age, and devoted much of his time in translating the works of the early Fathers, and to the study of scholastic theology. His conversion to the true Christian faith, is supposed to have been about the year 1535 ; but he did not only profess the Reformed doctrines before 1542. This change of religious sentiment has been attributed to the instrumentality of the martyr Wishart. He soon after became a zealous and efficient teacher of Gospel truth. In 1547, he was taken prisoner by the French, and remained a captive in the galleys two years. He was subsequently chaplain to Edward VI., and over to Frankfort and Geneva, and in 1555, returned to Scotland. He labored in the ministry but a short time, and returned to Geneva. It was during his residence there, that he wrote his "First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women." Mary was then Queen of England ; and she was no doubt the particular object of his animadversions. In April, 1559, he once more landed on his native shore, and arrived at the remarkable crisis to which we have referred.

Knox was the bold and distinguished champion of the Scottish Reformation. His character seems to have been peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of the times. Even the austerity of his deportment, and his uncompromising spirit, were conge-

nial to the temper of the age. Providence raised him up, and fitted him for the accomplishment of the great purposes of his divine mission. He soon became the master-spirit of the movements then just commenced by the Protestant party, and the chief director of *the Congregation of the Lord*.

Paul made Felix tremble on his throne when he reasoned of righteousness, temperance and judgment to come; and Knox, with equal intrepidity, but with more acrimony and vehemence, railed against the follies and corrupt religion of his sovereign; and by the severity of his reproofs, he once subdued her lofty spirit, when overwhelmed by feelings of wounded pride and mortification, she sat in silence dissolved in tears before him. It was said of him that "he never feared the face of man." A corrupt royalty, and a debased and bigoted priesthood, were equally the objects of his unsparing invectives. His usual appellation for the queen was "*the wicked Jezebel*;" nor could she, by blandishments and bewitching arts, over which her youth and beauty and courtly accomplishments gave her an easy control, either soften his temper or moderate the severity of his language. He told her, on one occasion, that "Samuel feared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate King of the Amalekites, whom King Saul had saved; neither spared Elias Jezebel's false prophets and Baal's priests, though King Ahab was present." "Phinehas," he said, "was no magistrate, yet feared he not to strike Cozbi and Zimri in the very act of filthy fornication." "And so, madam, your grace may see," he concluded, "that others than chief magistrates may lawfully inflict punishment on such crimes as are condemned by the law of God."

Such were the courage and the temper of the man who was invited by the leading Reformers to return to his native country, and to direct their movements. His opinions on scriptural doctrines coincided with those of Calvin; he was actuated by a zeal for religious liberty with an intensity of feeling not less ardent than that which warmed the breast of Zwingle; and in his loud, rough, and vehement denunciations of the Papal Hierarchy he was not unlike Luther. The following spirited delineation of his character has been drawn by the learned and impartial historian of his own country, Dr. Robertson: "Zeal, intrepidity, disinterestedness, were virtues which he possessed in an eminent degree. He was acquainted, too, with the learn-

ing cultivated in that age, and excelled in that species of eloquence which is calculated to rouse and to inflame. His maxims, however, were often too severe, and the impetuosity of his temper excessive. Rigid and uncomplying himself, he showed no indulgence to the infirmities of others. Regardless of the distinctions of rank and character, he uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence more apt to irritate than to reclaim. This often betrayed him into indecent and undutiful expressions with respect to the queen's person and conduct. Those very qualities, however, which now render his character less amiable, fitted him to be the instrument of Providence for advancing the Reformation among a fierce people, and enabled him to face dangers, and to surmount opposition, from which a person of a more gentle spirit would have been apt to shrink back." Banatyne, in his remarks on the closing scene of his earthly career, thus beautifully sketches his character: "In this manner departed this man of God; the light of Scotland, the comfort of the Church, the mirror of godliness, and pattern and example of all true ministers, in purity of life, soundness of doctrine, and boldness in reproof of wickedness; one that cared not for the favor of men, how great soever they were." His literary works were few; as his time was chiefly devoted to the preaching of the Gospel and other spiritual labors. His principal production is a "History of the Reformation in Scotland."

Knox commenced his efforts in the propagation of the Gospel immediately on his arrival in Scotland; and from the pulpit at Perth he declaimed with his accustomed vehemence against the vices of the Romish clergy and the corruptions of the Church. The Reformers now engaged in the work with renewed zeal; while the queen-regent, as determined to suppress the growing heresy in the kingdom, collected her forces for a vigorous and decided movement for their destruction. With two thousand French auxiliaries, she organized her army, and advancing upon Perth, encamped within ten miles of that place. The Congregation of the Lord were not intimidated by these hostile demonstrations, and placed themselves at once in an attitude of defence. They sent an address to the regent, in which they declared their determination, if driven to extremities by *the cruel beasts*, the Churchmen, to resort to foreign auxiliaries for assistance, in their measures of safety and protection. They appealed to the

nobility in her army in justification of the violence they had committed in the destruction of the images of idolatrous worship, and insisted that what had been done was strictly in obedience to the command of God. "It ought to be considered," they said, "whether or not those abominations, called by the pestilent Papists religion, and which they defend by fire and sword, be the true religion of Jesus Christ." The Earl of Argyll, and Lord James Stuart, Prior of St. Andrews, the queen's natural brother, who were united with the Protestants, had obeyed the call of the regent, and enlisted under her banner. The Congregation addressed, therefore, all who had thus deserted their cause, apprising them of their treacherous conduct, and warning them "that they would be excommunicated from their society and from the participation of the sacraments of the Church, which God, by his mighty power, had erected among them, whose ministers have the same authority which Christ granted to his apostles, in these words: "Whose sins ye shall forgive, shall be forgiven, and whose sins ye shall retain, shall be retained."

The Congregation addressed also the Established Church, commencing their letter missive with the following significant caption—"To the generation of Antichrist, the pestilent prelates, and their shaveling, in Scotland, the Congregation of Christ Jesus, within the same, sayeth." "As ye, by tyranny," continues the address, "intend not only to destroy our bodies, but also, by the same, to hold our souls in bondage of the devil, subject to idolatry; so shall we, with all the force and power which God shall grant unto us, execute just vengeance and punishment upon you; yea, we shall begin that same war which God commanded Israel to execute against the Canaanites: that is, contract of peace shall never be made till you desist from your open idolatry and cruel persecution of God's children. And this, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son, Christ Jesus, whose verity we profess, and Gospel we have preached, and holy sacraments rightly administered, we signify unto you to be our intent, so far as God will assist us to withstand your idolatry. Take this for warning and be not deceived."

Such language of defiance, fortified by an armed soldiery, and uttered in a spirit of firm resolution and of indomitable

courage, seldom failed to humble the haughty tone of the Papists, and to bring them to terms of compromise and concession. The regent took counsel in her prudence, and acceded to conditions of peace in an accommodation of their differences. Under a promise, to the Protestants, of indemnity for past offences, and of not quartering the French soldiers upon the citizens of Perth, she was permitted to enter the city without resistance. Dissatisfaction, however, very soon after appeared in the ranks of the Protestant party, by angry complaints of a violation of the treaty of peace. The regent was charged with having disregarded the stipulations. Whether these complaints were justly founded or not, the issue was not as favorable as either party may have anticipated. It must have been evident that a mere suspension of hostilities, or compromise of differences for the time, could not long satisfy the Reformers, whose objects were an entire liberty of conscience and a right to worship agreeably to their own opinions, as well as a subversion of the ancient religion. "It was asserted," says Hume, "that the regent, to justify her measures, declared that princes ought not to have their promises too strictly urged upon them; nor was any faith to be kept with heretics; and that, for her part, could she find as good a color, she would willingly bereave all these men of their lives and fortunes." If all these were calumnies, circulated with a view of exciting the popular indignation, it is at least certain that both parties were actuated by feelings of enmity, and were prepared to maintain their respective pretensions by force of arms.

The Congregation now formed a new covenant, in which they not only provided for their future safety, but pledged themselves, "in the name of God, to employ their whole power in destroying every thing that dishonored his holy name." This covenant was subscribed by Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrew's, with many others. The Protestant party, having received an important accession of forces, proceeded, under the animating influences of John Knox, to open acts of violence and demolition. Anstruther, Scone, Crail, and Sterling, successively felt the strong arm of the innovators of religion, and were severally reformed, by the destruction of their churches and monasteries, as Perth and Couper had been not long before. They then advanced to Edinburg, into which they were cordially received by the inhabitants, who had themselves already com-

menced a similar work of reformation. The regent fled to Dunbar, and there fortified herself.

The Earl of Arran, now entitled the Duke of Chatelherault, interposed his mediation for the restoration of peace, and by his advice the regent consented to grant them a toleration of their religion, under a promise on their part to commit no further depredations. Hume,* who seems to have cherished but a cold sympathy for the Congregation of the Lord, charges them with an imposture, in adding to the articles of agreement between the parties one which declared that idolatry should not again be erected in any place where it was at that time suppressed. Edinburg was restored to the regent on the 12th of July, 1559.

Henry II., King of France, died on the 10th of that month, and was succeeded by his son, Francis II. This change of administration brought the two kingdoms of Scotland and France into a closer alliance, and to an identity of views and interests on the subject of religion. The influence of the Guises now controlled the policy of both. A reinforcement of one thousand men was immediately sent over to Scotland, to sustain the queen-regent in her contemplated measures against the Protestants. With these auxiliaries she commenced the fortifications at Leith. Other troops were soon after sent from France, under the command of La Brosse. The Bishop of Amiens, and three doctors of the Sorbonne, accompanied the expedition.

In this enterprise we discover a development of the policy which formed the ruling principle in the court of Francis II. He had assumed with his consort Mary, the title of "King and Queen of England." It was believed a favorable juncture to maintain their high pretensions; the civil commotions in Scotland affording a pretext for sending their armies into that kingdom. For the purpose avowedly of suppressing the insurrection, but with the ulterior object of an invasion of England, numerous forces were accordingly transported from France. These important movements, and vast preparations for renewing the war, very naturally excited the apprehensions of the Protestants, but did not paralyze their energies. They had been recently strengthened by new and influential adherents, among whom

* This writer seems to have viewed Popery as mere superstition, and the Reformers as fanatics.

were the Duke of Chatelherault, and his son, the Earl of Arran.

The Congregation proceeded at once to vigorous measures of defence. By their own authority, they declared the queen-dowager no longer regent of Scotland, and ordered the French troops to evacuate the country. They levied an army, and advanced to Edinburg, which they again took possession of. Receiving information from the continent that the Marquis of Elbœuf, one of the Guises, had gone to Germany for the purpose of levying an army, they sent Maitland of Lidington and Robert Melvil to England, to negotiate a treaty of alliance with Elizabeth. In their declaration of the reasons which influenced them in this measure, the Scottish lords said: "How far we have sought support of England, or of any other prince, and what just cause we had or have so to do, we shall shortly make manifest unto the world, to the praise of God's holy name, and to the confusion of all those who slander us for so doing; for this we fear not to confess, that as, in this enterprise against the devil, against idolatry, and the maintainers of the same, we chiefly and only seek God's glory to be notified unto men, sin to be punished, and virtue to be maintained; so, where power faileth of ourselves, we will seek it wheresoever God shall offer the same." (Hume's Hist. Eng.) They were at least justified on the ground that their enemies had already introduced foreign troops to effect their subjugation.

Elizabeth, governed by the wise counsels of Cecil, did not long deliberate on the proposals, but concluded a treaty of mutual defence with the Congregation, which, it was stipulated, should continue during the marriage of the Queen of Scots with Francis, and a year after. She further pledged herself not to withdraw her assistance until the French had been expelled from Scotland. She sent an army and a fleet in aid of the Protestants. These reinforcements enabled them to disconcert the plans of the French court, and to extort from the regent the most favorable conditions of peace. Before the final adjustment of their differences, the queen-dowager died, (June 11th, 1560.) Soon after, however, a treaty was concluded at Edinburg. By this it was stipulated—that the French should immediately be transported out of Scotland; that Francis and Mary should withdraw their claim to the crown of England; that Elizabeth be remunerated for whatever injuries had resulted to her from their assertion of

that claim; that the Protestants be secured from all further molestation, &c. This treaty, it will be seen, was not faithfully fulfilled by the Queen of Scots. Francis and Mary indeed refused, in the first instance, to ratify it, under the pretext that the Scots had not themselves complied with its conditions, and that, notwithstanding this breach of faith, they were still protected by Elizabeth.

It was also stipulated, that a parliament or convention should be immediately convened; and the Congregation, upon their own authority, ordered a meeting of this assembly. This body was composed for the most part of Reformers, and sustained their measures with unabated zeal. Through their instrumentality the Reformation was firmly established in Scotland.

A petition was presented to the Parliament for the establishment of the Protestant doctrines; and also, for the punishment of the Papists, who were called "the vassals of the Roman harlot." It declared that, "among all the rabble of the clergy, there was not one lawful minister; but that they were, all of them, thieves and murderers; yea, rebels and traitors to civil authority, and unworthy to be suffered in any Reformed commonwealth." The Parliament proceeded to ratify a Confession of Faith, which embraced the doctrines of Geneva; and to abolish the mass in all the churches, imposing the following three severe penalties on any person who either officiated in it, or was present during the administration of the rite: which were, chastisement for the first offence, by corporal punishment, with confiscation of goods, at the discretion of the magistrate; banishment from the kingdom, for the second; and for the third, capital punishment. The Papal jurisdiction was also formally abolished. The Presbyterian form of government was adopted for the Reformed Church. This seems to have been the suggestion of John Knox, who had derived it from the Church of Geneva organized by Calvin. "In introducing this system," says Mac-laine, the translator of Mosheim, "the Scottish Reformer did not deem it expedient to depart altogether from the ancient form; but, instead of bishops, proposed the establishment of ten superintendents, to inspect the life and doctrine of the other clergy, to preside in the inferior judicatories of the Church, without pretending to claim either a seat in Parliament, or the revenues and dignity of the former bishops." The Popish prelates remonstrated against these proceedings, and complained of the injustice

committed on them by the invasion of their rights and property. They were ordered to appear in person before the Parliament, but feared to incur the danger, and departed from the city. That assembly thereupon declared, "that the ecclesiastics were entirely satisfied, and found no reason of complaint."

The acts of the Parliament were sent to France by Sir James Sandilands, Prior of St. Johns, to be ratified by the queen, but she denied their validity, and refused her sanction to the proceedings of an assembly convened without her royal authority. The Protestants, however, disregarded her objections, and rigidly executed the laws enacted for the overthrow of Popery within the kingdom. "They abolished the mass, settled their ministers, committed every where furious devastations on the monasteries, and even on the churches which they thought profaned by idolatry; and, deeming the property of the clergy lawful prize, they took possession, without ceremony, of the far greater part of the ecclesiastical revenues." "Thus was an incurable wound given to the Papal authority in that country." (Hume.)

At the close of the year (1560) the first General Assembly of the Protestant Church of Scotland convened in Edinburg. There were present only twelve ministers and thirty ruling elders. "Other persons, forty-three in number, were appointed; some to read the word in the mother tongue, the people being unable to read themselves, and some to exhort: the one class were called readers, the other exhorters. The whole official moral force might be rated, therefore, at eighty-five." "In the same year there was a meeting of the well-affected noblemen, barons and burghers, who had hitherto been carrying on the Reformation, for the purpose of fixing the few ministers above spoken of in the burg-towns, as the most important spheres. Eight of them were appointed to the leading towns; the remainder, with the addition of another, making five, were appointed superintendents or commissioners, for the purpose of planting the desolate rural districts as pastors could be procured. In the mean time, they were themselves to visit them, and stir up the nobles and people to make provision for the common teacher. It would seem, over the whole wide, and peopled, and fertile country of the Lothians, in the vicinity of the metropolis, there were only six churches available for Protestant worship, and they were not all supplied with pastors." (Lorimer.)

It has been remarked by the same writer to whom I have re-

ferred, that "the Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland, drawn up in this year, is substantially the same in doctrine and spirit, and even in style, as that of the French Protestant Church adopted in the preceding year," (1559.) "Nor is it only in doctrinal sentiment," says that writer, "that we find a strong resemblance between them: as they were the same in government, so in discipline there was a remarkable correspondence."

On the 5th of December, 1560, Francis II. died, and Mary returned to her native country the following year. She landed at Leith on the 19th of August, 1561. Elizabeth had refused to grant her a safe-conduct, should she be compelled to land on the English shore, on the ground of her refusal to ratify the Treaty of Edinburg; and even endeavored to intercept her by a fleet in her voyage across the German Ocean.

The first measures of her government were designed to obtain the confidence of the Protestants, and one of her earliest acts was a proclamation enforcing the observance of the religious forms recently established. But it was known that she still adhered to the tenets of the Romish faith, and was in principle and feeling a bigoted Papist. The preachers, therefore, particularly the stern and unbending Knox, could not be reconciled to her person, nor would they be persuaded to trust the sincerity of her professions. The celebration of mass in her own chapel was viewed with disgust; and the people were disposed to deprive her of the retired enjoyment of this religious privilege. "Shall we suffer," they openly exclaimed, "that idol to be again erected within the realm?" The preachers declaimed from the pulpit against what they termed the Popish abomination; and asserted that "one mass was more terrible than ten thousand armed men, landed to invade the kingdom." Lord Lindesey, and the gentlemen of Fife, exclaimed "that the idolater should die the death." It was with difficulty that the popular indignation was so far restrained by the most influential personages in the kingdom, as to prevent an open rebellion against the authority of the queen. Such were the indignities and insults to which Mary was exposed immediately after her arrival in Scotland, and in the commencement of her administration of the government.

Lord James Stuart, her natural brother, was created Earl of Murray, and became her most confidential adviser and counselor. He was attached to the Protestant cause, and had signed

the new covenant of the Congregation in 1559. She was, notwithstanding his influence and decision of character, still insulted by opprobrious epithets, and treated with contumely by the people. Paintings were exhibited in her presence, in which were represented the punishments inflicted by God upon idolatry, as detailed in Scriptures. A proclamation was published by the Town Council of Edinburg, by its own authority, banishing from the district "all the wicked rabble of Antichrist, the Pope, such as priests, monks, and friars; together with adulterers and fornicators." "The Assembly of the Church framed an address, in which, after telling her that her mass was a bastard service of God, the fountain of all impiety, and the source of every evil which abounded in the realm, they expressed their hopes, that she would, ere this time, have preferred truth to her own preconceived opinion, and have renounced her religion, which, they assured her, was nothing but domination and vanity." (Hume's Hist.) Her private chapel was entered, during her absence, and rudely violated by some religious zealot. Certain persons were arrested on suspicion; and Knox openly called on the Protestant party to protect them from punishment. When arraigned before the queen for seditious conduct, he hesitated not to say to her, "that the pestilent Papists, who had inflamed her against these holy men, were the sons of the devil; and must, therefore, obey the directions of their father, who had been a liar and a manslayer from the beginning." Notwithstanding the boldness of this speech, and in the royal presence, Knox was dismissed without censure; and the individuals, charged with the alleged act of violence, escaped without punishment. On another occasion, this intrepid Reformer told the queen that he would submit to her in the same manner as Paul did to Nero. The kingdom of heaven may truly be said to have suffered violence, and the violent took it by force.

This determined spirit of resistance against the spiritual domination of Rome, and the zeal displayed by the Scottish Reformers in maintaining their religious liberties, may be attributed by the frigid and philosophizing moralist to excessive enthusiasm, to extravagant and wild conceptions of religion; but their efforts were signally triumphant; and the great Head of the Church blessed the noble sacrifices they made, under his divine direction,

by prospering their evangelical labors beyond those of any other nation or people. No Church founded in the sixteenth century, secured so early its right of worship, perfected so speedily its ecclesiastical organization, and has better preserved, through the intervening ages to the present time, the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. The French Reformers, between whom and those of Scotland there were many remarkable features of resemblance, were equally zealous, equally sound in the faith, and displayed as fully the spirit of self-sacrifice, and a devotedness in the cause of Christ; but that spirit was resisted by the strong arm of their own government, and that devotedness was immolated at the shrine of Popery, by bigoted and priest-serving monarchs.

We have undoubted evidences of the immediate prosperity of the Reformed Church in Scotland, from the period when its doctrines were embodied in a confession of faith, and its forms of divine worship established. Lorimer informs us, from authentic manuscript documents, that, "in 1567, instead of twelve ministers, there were two hundred and fifty-two; and instead of forty-three readers and exhorters, there were six hundred and twenty-one; making, in all, in the space of seven years, eight hundred and seventy-three moral agents, laboring for the spiritual good of the people of Scotland, instead of fifty-five. In other words, there was almost a moral agent of one description or another for every parish of the land in seven years." "In 1564, the commissioner speaks of passing to Kintyre," (the peninsula of Argyleshire, lying between the Frith of Clyde and the Atlantic Ocean,) "and then to the Isles, to visit the churches, implying that there were churches to superintend. The reader seems to have been appointed first, then the exhorter, and lastly the minister. The cases are rare—only in large towns—where the whole three offices, or even two, were in operation together. Generally there was at the outset but one of them in one place. The fact, that nine years after, that is, in 1576, there were, in two hundred and eighty-nine parishes, not less than one hundred and sixteen places where there was both a minister and a reader, is an indication of great and continued progress." "Sixteen years after the Reformation, there were more than half of the parishes supplied with the highest religious office—the parochial minister—supposing the rest of the Church to enjoy the

same proportion." "The Scripture reader," continues the writer, "when well qualified, seems, in the absence of the minister, to have administered the sacraments, and celebrated marriage; and both he and the exhorter, where their gifts were approved, appear, sometimes, to have been admitted to the ministry. Indeed, the Church, with great wisdom, did not, in these trying times, demand, on the part of the ministers, an exact and formal *curriculum* of study. She was glad to avail herself of their services, when the qualifications were such as to promise usefulness. Thus, the first Protestant minister of the West Church of Edinburg, W. Harlow, originally a tailor, was obliged to flee to England for safety. Having obtained deacon's orders, he returned in 1556, four years before the first General Assembly, and became minister of the West Kirk. The Church was too much animated with the Spirit of Christ to make any question about the validity of his ordination.* I conclude the notices descriptive of the amazing progress which the Protestant faith made, under the unwearied prayers and labors of the early Church, with the following remark of the regent, in 1573, or thirteen years after the organization of the Church of Scotland. It may be over-colored, as he had an object to serve; but there must have been a general truth in the statement, otherwise it would have been inapplicable. I take it from Wodrow's Manuscript Collections of the Life of Boyd of Trochrig. Speaking of the religious change, the regent says, "Seeing the most part of the canons, monks and friars within this realm have made profession of the true religion, it is thought meet that it be

* In the year 1784, the Rev. Mr. Wesley appointed Dr. Coke and Francis Asbury to be joint superintendents (or bishops) over the Methodists in North America; and Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey to act as elders among them, by baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper. He stated, that he had desired the Bishop of London to ordain only one, but his application was rejected. The General Conference, in Baltimore, unanimously confirmed the appointments. This was the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. These proceedings were alleged to be informal; but were justified *ex necessitate rei*." "I exercised that power," said Wesley, "which I am fully persuaded the Great Shepherd and Bishop of the Church has given me." "I firmly believe," he said, on another occasion, subsequently, "I am a scriptural *Episcopos*, as much as any man in England or in Europe; for the apostolical succession I know to be a fable, which no man ever did, or can prove." Who will presume to affirm that the hand of the Lord was not with him?

and Priscilla. Those who were dispersed by the persecution which arose about Stephen, and fled from Jerusalem, preached the word to the Jews and to the Greeks, "and the hand of the Lord was with them; and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord." The word preached profited them, being mixed with faith in them that heard it. This alone was the incontrovertible evidence of their divine mission. There was, emphatically speaking, no difference between the Jew and the Greek; for the same Lord over all was rich unto all that called upon him. The dispersed believers who travelled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, exhibited their divine commission (not derived from the authority of men through the mere ceremony of an ordination) in the great number who believed, and turned unto the Lord. "How beautiful were the feet of them that preached the Gospel of peace, and brought glad tidings of good things!" How could their preaching have been blessed, except they had been sent? The example of the Apostolic Church has been received as an authority by the different Reformed Churches which arose at subsequent periods; and in the sixteenth century an informality in the ministrations of the word is observable in them all. In England, the episcopal order was preserved; but the bishops received their appointments *from the throne*, and therefore cannot be said to have been *called* (*kletoi episcopoi*), in the Scriptural sense of that term. "How shall they preach, except they be sent?" The ordination, of itself, administered by order of a temporal prince, was not an evidence of a divine mission.

The Reformation in Scotland, if effected by violence, was nevertheless complete. All ecclesiastical jurisdiction was wrested from the secular clergy of the Papal Church. Those of the monastic orders were forcibly dispossessed of their property by the nobles. The convention of the nation, assembled in 1561, divided the ecclesiastical livings or benefices into twenty-one shares, of which fourteen were reserved for the ancient possessors, three were appropriated to the use of the sovereign, and if these were sufficient to defray the contingent expenses of the crown, the remaining four accrued to the Reformed ministers. This last provision was nugatory, from the extravagance and increasing necessities of the court, and the indisposition on the part of the queen to assist the Protestant clergy. The Reformed ministers were compelled,

therefore, to subsist on the voluntary contributions of those of their own faith, and such inadequate stipends as were allowed by their respective congregations. We are informed by the "Book of the Assignations of the Ministers' and Readers' Stipend, for 1576," referred to by Lorimer, that "sixteen pounds to twenty-six Scots was a common stipend for a Scripture reader; fifty merks for an exhorter; and about one hundred and fifteen for a minister."

The ministers of the Gospel were required, under the severest penalties, to reside near their respective churches, and strictly prohibited from accepting any civil office, as that of privy councillor, judge, or sheriff, or from holding pluralities. Provisions were made for the education of poor scholars, and young men for the ministry, which was thorough and comprehensive. When the Church became well organized, and established on a permanent basis, none were admitted to holy orders under the age of twenty-five years. To test their qualifications, and to train them to polemical theology, at every meeting of Presbytery discussions were maintained on the Popish rites and doctrines. The General Assembly resolved, moreover, in 1575, that "as the leading Scripture commentators are written in Latin, so none should be admitted to the ministry unless they could read that language." It was further required of them "to speak *congruous Latin*, unless in cases where Providence has bestowed singular gifts and graces for the edification of his Church. In that event the rule may be dispensed with." (Lorimer.) The spiritual instruction of the people was not the less provided for, by frequent religious discourses throughout the week, and catechetical exercises in the afternoon of each Sabbath. This rapid and general diffusion of scriptural light almost effectually banished from the kingdom the superstitions of Popery; the only traces of which were discernible in the machinations and intrigues of the foreign Jesuits to restore the ancient religion. This beneficial result was shown by a statement of the General Assembly, in 1588, that there were at that time "twelve Papists in Dumfries and its neighborhood, ten in Angus and Mearns, three in the Lothians," &c., and this was referred to by that body as a subject of complaint. The observance of the Sabbath, "to keep it holy," was rigidly required and enforced. The Reformed Church of Scotland never lost sight of one leading and fundamental principle in its institution—the unqualified denunciation of Popery, in all its varied and deceptive

forms. It strictly prohibited "any service, friendship or league with Papists, in France, Spain, or Italy, or other countries, by common or particular consent;" and thus preserved its religion pure, and uncontaminated by the pagan idolatries of Rome. At the same time it exhibited an undisguised and sincere feeling of fellowship toward the Reformed Churches of other countries. In 1566, a request was sent to the English bishops to treat in kindness those who differed from them in religious opinions on points of worship not deemed essential. In 1583, the king, James VI., was entreated to instruct his ambassador at the English court "to labor that a union and bond may be made between the king, her majesty, Queen Elizabeth, and other Christian princes and realms professing the true religion, for the protection and defence of the true word of God, and its professors, against the persecution of Papists and confederates, joined and united together by the bloody league of Trent; and also that her majesty will disburden their brethren of England of the yoke of ceremonies imposed on them against the liberty of the word." In 1588, the necessities of the French Protestant refugees in England were considered, and collections were made for their relief. On the other hand, calls were made upon the people "for fasting and prayer, for the bloody councils of the Romish beast all over Europe." Such was the admirable character of the Kirk of Scotland in the sixteenth century.

The obstinate and the ill-timed pretensions of Mary to the crown of England, and her bigoted attachment to the Popish faith, disturbed the tranquillity of her reign over her own proper kingdom, and at length led to her execution on the block. She could never be persuaded to relinquish her claims to the one nor to abjure the other. Her marriage with Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, in 1565, who was believed to be equally attached to the Romish faith, created a general dissatisfaction among her subjects; and even in Edinburg a spirit of rebellion against her government was exhibited by associations and combinations of the populace. Knox denounced the king and queen from the pulpit. "God," he said, "for punishment of the offences and ingratitude of the people, was wont to commit the rule over them to boys and women." Many of the nobility entered into a conspiracy against them, and offers were made to the English minister, Randolph, to seize the king and his father, the Earl of

Lenox, and deliver them into the hands of Queen Elizabeth. They met at Stirling, entered into a solemn engagement of mutual defence, and applied to Elizabeth for assistance. This, through her ambassadors, Randolph and Throgmorton, Elizabeth promised ; and remitted a sum of money to aid them in their insurrectionary movements. Their plans were, however, defeated, not having been sufficiently countenanced by the people.

Darnley was murdered in 1567, and about three months after the event, the queen married the Earl of Bothwell. They were both suspected of being guilty of the murder, and the public indignation became intense. The Earl of Athol, although a Papist, was the chief of a confederacy against Mary, to avenge the death of Darnley ; and the nobility generally engaged with zeal in a cause in which they considered the honor of the nation as deeply involved. At Carberry Hill, the confederate troops obtained an easy victory over the forces under the command of Bothwell ; and the queen surrendered herself into the hands of her enemies. Bothwell fled to Dunbar. Mary was conducted to Edinburg, and on the following day to the castle of Lochleven, where she was detained a prisoner. In December, a Parliament was convened by the Earl of Murray ; and that body, having declared her to have been an accomplice in the murder, "condemned her to imprisonment, ratified her demission of the crown, and acknowledged her son for king, and Murray for regent." On the 2d of May following, (1568,) she escaped from her imprisonment ; and having raised her standard at Hamilton, an army of six thousand men rallied under it in her defence. On the 15th, her forces were defeated at Langside, near Glasgow, and totally dispersed. She fled to Galloway, and there immediately embarked on board of a fishing-boat, by which she was transported to an English port about thirty miles from Carlisle. Mary having informed Elizabeth of her arrival, and requested a personal interview, was mortified by a refusal of her request, and her detention in the castle of Carlisle as a prisoner. She was removed first to Bolton and then to Tutbury, and in that castle she remained a captive until the year 1569, when she was removed to Fotheringay castle, in the county of Northampton. On the 8th of February, 1587, she was executed, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and in the nineteenth of her captivity.

Although Mary, in the commencement of her administration, was persuaded, from motives of policy, to make many concessions to the Protestants, the predominant party in the kingdom, there were, notwithstanding, other circumstances which proved the insincerity of her conduct. She constantly refused to ratify the acts of Parliament which had established the Reformation; she attempted, at different times, to restore to the prelates of the Papal Church their civil jurisdiction; and she even addressed a letter in 1563, through her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, to the Council of Trent, professing her submission to its authority. In this letter, still pertinaciously advancing her pretensions to the English throne, she expressed a hope of subjecting in time both kingdoms to the dominion of the Roman See. When in 1562 a petition was presented to her by Protestants for the entire suppression of the superstitious rites and worship of the Papal Church, she replied in anger, that she hoped before another year to restore the mass throughout Scotland; and when in 1564 she was solicited, by the General Assembly, "to abjure the blasphemous idolatry of the mass, with the tyranny of the Roman Antichrist, and to embrace the true religion of Jesus Christ, she replied, that "she was not convinced of the falsity of her religion, or the impiety of the mass, and that her apostacy would lose her the friendship of her allies on the continent." In 1565, the Treaty of Bayonne was formed, between the Queen-Regent of France, the Queen of Spain, and the Duke of Alva. "No less," says Hume, "than a total and universal extermination of the Protestants, by fire and sword, was concerted by Philip and Catharine of Medicis. The treaty was brought over to Scotland by Clernau, and Mary cheerfully affixed her signature to it.

In the following year a Parliament was convened for the purpose of passing a law of attainder against the noblemen who had taken up arms against her after her marriage with Lord Darnley; and also, for adopting measures by which Popery would be re-established in the kingdom. These designs were frustrated, however, by the important events which then occurred, and which exercised a control over the subsequent circumstances of her life.

It was at this time that she carried on a secret correspondence with the court of Rome, and promised to receive into her

emissary. "Mary replied, that she approved highly of the design," says Hume; "that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards which it should ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary circumstance before any attempts were made, either for her own deliverance or an insurrection." We are informed by the same authority, that Mary, at the same time, conspired against her son, James VI., then approaching his majority, but already in possession of the throne of Scotland. "She instigated her adherents to seize James' person, and deliver him into the hands of the Pope or the King of Spain: whence he was never to be delivered, but on condition of his becoming a Catholic." Such were the leading political events connected with the progress of the religious Reformation in Scotland in the sixteenth century. "The sovereign and the priesthood," as a writer remarks, "combined to preserve the dominion of error, while the greater part of the nobility, to gain the objects which they fondly contemplated, espoused the interests of the people, and joined in enlarging the sphere of religious liberty. Thus it happened that the hierarchy came to be regarded in Scotland, by all who were partial to the Protestant faith, as the ally of despotism and the engine of persecution."

On the 29th of July, 1567, James VI. (Mary having signed her abdication of the throne) was crowned at Stirling. In 1578, the Earl of Morton resigned his authority as regent; and the prince, then only twelve years of age, seemed to have been entrusted with the reins of government. The Guises, however, sent Stuart, the Lord of Aubigny, a bigoted Papist, to Scotland, who directed the administration, and was by James created the Duke of Lennox. Another Papist, Stuart of Ochiltree, afterward Earl of Arran, also acquired an ascendancy in the court at Holyrood-house. Morton was arraigned for the murder of the king's father, and executed. These events opened a field for the operation of the Jesuits. Waytes, an English priest, and Creighton, a Scottish Jesuit, insinuated themselves into the favor of the youthful monarch. A secret consultation was held at Paris, between Creighton, the Duke of Guise, the Papal nuncio, the Provincial of the Jesuits, the Spanish ambassador, Mary's agent, the Bishop of Glasgow, and Dr. Allen, the founder of the seminaries. It was agreed, that Mary should still be considered

as reigning jointly with her son, and that the Pope and the King of Spain be solicited to supply the prince with money. "It is probable," says Lingard, "that other projects, with which we are unacquainted, were also formed." Mary, who readily approved of every measure calculated to re-establish the Popish worship in Scotland, approved of this deeply contrived plot, to direct the youthful mind of James, and to instill into it the poisonous doctrines of the Romish faith. "The '*Raid of Ruthven*,' as it was called, disconcerted all their projects. James was seized by the Earl of Gowrie, in concert with some of the leading Protestants, and forced to dismiss Lennox and Arran." The whole plan, devised and conducted by the Jesuits, was in the end most thoroughly defeated.

The Kirk of Scotland was brought to a purer system of Presbyterian government in the year 1592, through the influence of the celebrated Andrew Melville, who returned to that country from Geneva in 1574. It was in the General Assembly, held at Edinburg in 1590, that James is said to have expressed himself in the following language: "I praise God that I was born in the time of the light of the Gospel, and in such a place as to be the King of the sincerest (i. e. purest) Kirk in the world. The Kirk of Geneva keep Pasche and Yule (i. e. Easter and Christmas). What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbor Kirk of England, their service is an evil-said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings (i. e. the elevation of the host). I charge you, my good ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort your people to do the same; and I, forsooth, as long as I brook my life, shall do the same." (Mosheim.)

The Church of Scotland had many severe struggles, from the period of its institution, in 1560, to the year 1584, when the Papal influence was finally destroyed by the expulsion of the Earl of Arran from the councils of the young king. These struggles, maintained, not only to preserve its purity of doctrines and worship, but in defence of its existence, were successful, only by a resort to those means of violence and force, which its enemies invariably called into requisition to accomplish its destruction.

There were periods, however, of difficulties and dangers, subsequent to the year 1592; in which its constitution was invaded, and the integrity of its institution perilled, through the fears and

the jealousies of the government. James, even before his accession to the throne of England, in 1603, betrayed an attachment to Episcopacy, as more consonant to monarchy ; and made frequent efforts to new-model its form of government.

In the Presbyterian form of government, the fundamental principle is, an entire parity of order in the Church. This was the general character of the organization of the earliest Reformed Churches, of which we have any record in history ; and is indeed the leading feature of the apostolic institutions. The title of bishop has been preserved by them through all the intervening ages to the present time ; but only in the sense in which it was applied (to ministers having the pastoral charge of Churches) in the New Testament. In the Scottish Church, the name of bishops was occasionally revived, but without the prerogatives, jurisdiction, or revenues that were formerly appropriated to that order. After the revolution, in 1688, the title was abolished ; but since that period it has not been unusual to denominate the pastor, as a bishop, or overseer, appointed to feed the Church of God ; an office with which the elders or bishops of the several Churches in Ephesus were entrusted by the Holy Ghost. (Acts xx. 28.)

CHAPTER XIV.


THE Netherlands embrace that portion of Europe which is bounded on the north-west by the German Ocean, on the south-west by France, and on the east by Germany. These provinces descended to Charles V., from his paternal grandfather, Maximilian I., who married Mary, the daughter and heiress of Charles the Rash, last Duke of Burgundy. This patrimony consisted of fourteen provinces; but Friesland, Groningen, and Gueldres, were afterward acquired by Charles; and he united the seventeen into one and the same government, and ordered, by the Pragmatic Decree which he published in 1549, that they should not again be disunited. Charles, however, by a negotiation with the Germanic Body, placed the Netherlands under their protection under certain conditions. He guaranteed to the Princes of the Low Countries a vote and a seat in the Diet, as Chiefs of the Circle of Burgundy. These provinces, moreover, were to be considered as free and independent sovereignties, not subject to the jurisdiction either of the empire or of the Imperial Chamber, except for default in the payment of their contingent, or infringement of the law of the public peace. (Revol. in Europe, by C. W. Koch, &c.)

Before the transfer of the provinces to the House of Austria, they enjoyed many privileges conceded to them, at different periods, by the Burgundian Dukes. So mild, indeed, was the authority exercised over them, that they may be said to have constituted a republic. Their affairs were regulated by an Assembly of the States, consisting of the nobility, clergy, and deputies of the cities. This just administration of the government established for their protection and benefit, stimulated industry

and enterprise : and they enjoyed that prosperity in trade, commerce and the exercise of the useful arts, which usually results from wise legislative provisions for the security of property and the fruits of labor. Agriculture flourished, and regions naturally sterile and unproductive were brought into a state of high cultivation ; while their foreign commercial intercourse extended to every country in Europe. Bruges, in West Flanders, was the great emporium of nations, and formed an important branch in the Hanseatic Confederacy until the sixteenth century, when Antwerp, on the Scheldt, in Brabant, which had long been its rival in commerce, became the principal mart in Europe. Henry VII. entered into a treaty of commerce with the Flemings, which, from its importance to the English, was long called the Great Treaty, or *Intercursus Magnus*. Henry VIII. declared war against the Emperor Charles V., but from the mutual advantages of trade a neutrality was stipulated with the Provinces. Even as late as the reign of Elizabeth, the foreign commerce of England was confined to the Netherlands.

It was not until Charles commenced his new course of policy toward them, by interfering with their religion, that the Netherlands felt the oppression of a government, which, although foreign, had hitherto favored them as an integral part of the empire. "Although Charles possessed but a limited prerogative over them, he published," says Hume, "the most arbitrary, severe, and tyrannical edicts against the Protestants ; and he took care that the execution of them should be no less violent and sanguinary." The severities exercised by the emperor compelled large numbers of the inhabitants to withdraw with their families and effects into foreign countries. The magistrates entrusted with the execution of the laws relaxed in their vigilance, from the suggestions of humane feelings toward the persecuted ; and the regent, the queen-dowager of Hungary, and sister of Charles, actuated by motives of compassion, connived at the leniency of the civil authorities, and represented to the emperor the evils of the system of oppression and persecution he had adopted.

Such was the state of affairs in 1555, when Charles resigned to his son Philip those provinces, which in the following year were incorporated with the Spanish monarchy, on the abdication of the crown of Spain by the emperor. Philip II. was one



of the most powerful monarchs in Europe. His dominions embraced Spain, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia and Milan, Franche-Comte and the Netherlands. In 1580, he took possession of Portugal, in right of his mother, Elizabeth. He was the sovereign of the immense domains of Spain and Portugal, in all parts of the world, and therefore possessed the gold and silver mines of Mexico and Peru, with the commerce of the East and West Indies and of Africa, of the greater part of the Levant, and of the Baltic and North Seas, under his control. As the husband of Mary, Queen of England, he exercised for a time an influence in the councils of that kingdom. In 1559, he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry II., King of France, and of Catharine of Medicis—an alliance unfavorable to the Protestants.

This bigoted and sanguinary monarch, immediately after his accession to the throne of Spain, renewed the cruel edicts of his father against the Protestants in the Netherlands. Those who maintained the Reformed doctrines, were deprived of their offices and degraded from their rank. Those who propagated them, or were present where they were taught, were put to death by the sword, if men, and if women, were burnt alive. Those who sheltered heretics, or omitted to inform against them, were punished with equal severity. He resided in the Netherlands until the year 1559, when he removed to Spain, and placed the Provinces under the regency of his half-sister, Margaret, the natural daughter of Charles V., assisted by the Cardinal Granvella, the Legist Viglius, and the Count of Barlaimont.

Philip was the obsequious instrument of the Pope, and with his consent and authority, he introduced the tribunal of the Inquisition. "He suppressed, for this purpose, the metropolitan and diocesan rights which the archbishops and bishops of the empire and of France had exercised in the Low Countries; he instituted three new bishoprics at Utrecht, Cambray, and Mechlin, and under their jurisdiction he put thirteen new bishoprics which he had erected, besides those of Arras and Tournay. Having in this way augmented the number of his satellites in the Assembly of the States-General, he suppressed a great multitude of abbeys and monasteries, the revenues of which he applied to the endowment of his newly made bishoprics." He ordered the recent decrees of the Council of Trent to be published, and to be universally received as the standard of ortho-

on faith. Each diocesan court was of itself an inquisitorial tribunal. Persons were arraigned before them upon mere suspicion, and tortured at their discretion. Trials of heresy were mockeries of justice: and full jurisdiction was reposed in the ecclesiastical courts in all cases of heresy, the civil officer being required imperatively to execute their sentence of condemnation. The only ground of pardon was the voluntary information against others; and a still stronger incentive was held out for the encouragement of informers, by promises of reward, as well as of exemption from punishment. These oppressive measures were further aggravated by the quartering of troops in the several provinces, whose rapacity and overhearing deportment towards the inhabitants, were encouraged by impunity, and a disregard of complaints.

Philip summoned a convention of the States before his departure from the Netherlands. This assembly met at Ghent. He attended in person, with the new regent, and through the Bishop of Arras the deputies were instructed to exert their influence in preserving tranquillity and public order; and, at the same time, were advised that no measure would better secure this object than a strict enforcement of the edicts for the suppression of heresy. They were, moreover, enjoined to adhere rigidly to the ancient faith. The reply of the deputies, however, was more spirited than Philip could have anticipated. They remonstrated against the foreign troops remaining in the provinces, against the establishment of the inquisition, and against the unrelenting severity of his edicts; and even expressed the intimation, that those measures might occasion an open resistance of his authority. The king was inexorable, and declared, "that he would much rather be no king at all, than have heretics for his subjects."

The fleet which accompanied the king was, immediately after his safe arrival at Laredo, dispersed in the Bay of Biscay by a terrific storm, and many of his ships were wrecked, and upwards of a thousand of his soldiers perished in the waves. This disaster made a strong impression upon his mind, and under the strong influence of superstitious emotions, he fell on his knees, gave thanks for his deliverance, and solemnly pledged himself that, in gratitude for his providential escape, the remainder of his life should be devoted to the extirpation of heresy. Most fearfully

on this subject. The evil was increasing : but men must be convinced of error by reasoning and persuasion : heresy could not be eradicated by the fire and the sword. Philip, at the urgent solicitation of the regent, recalled the Cardinal Granvella, who had usurped the chief authority in the regency, and was unrelenting in the severe execution of the edicts : but those laws were not revoked, and the cause of the general dissatisfaction still remained.

The nobles themselves, emboldened by the decided language of the Prince of Orange, and equally opposed to the infringement of their political rights, determined to throw their influence against the royal authority, and to defeat the execution of the edicts. Philip de Marnise, Lord of St. Aldegonde, seconded the movements of that prince. Lamoral, Count of Egmont, and Governor of Flanders and Artois, the Count of Hoorn, Admiral of the naval forces of the Netherlands, Louis of Nassau, William's brother, Henry of Brederodé, the Counts de Culemborg and Berg, proposed, by temperate measures, but by firm remonstrances, to obtain a revocation of the edicts, and the restoration of their rights.

Notwithstanding the repeated expostulations by the States, and the appeals of the nobles, and the complaints of the people, Philip remained inflexible in his purpose. The nobility resolved upon a confederacy ; and in November, 1565, they formed an alliance at Breda, "for the defence of their own and their country's rights against the detestable tribunal of the Inquisition." An instrument of writing was drawn up, which was termed, *the Compromise*. This was subscribed by the confederates, and soon after by innumerable persons of all ranks, both Protestants and Papists. The language of the compromise will fully convey a knowledge of the principles and feelings by which the Netherlands were actuated.

"Whereas certain malicious persons," they said, "under the cloak of zeal for the Catholic religion, but in reality prompted by ambition, pride, and avarice, have, by their misrepresentations, persuaded our lord, the king, to introduce into these provinces that most pernicious tribunal, the Inquisition, which is not only contrary to all human and divine laws, but exceeds in cruelty the most barbarous institutions of the most savage tyrants in the heathen world ; which subjects all authority to th

confederates, or to that of those who shall be appointed by the rest to assist us with their counsel.

"In witness of this our league, we invoke the holy name of the living God as the searcher of our hearts, humbly beseeching him to grant us the grace of his Holy Spirit, and that all our enterprises may be attended with success, may promote the honor of his name, contribute to the welfare of our souls, and advance the peace and true interest of the Netherlands."

The confederates now determined to present to the regent in Brussels a catalogue of their grievances; and without arms, but rather as suppliants, to ask for a repeal of the obnoxious laws. Accordingly, Henry of Brederodé, a descendant of the ancient Counts of Holland, and Louis of Nassau, accompanied by four hundred gentlemen, presented a petition to the princess on the 5th of April, 1566. The regent, intimidated by their number, betrayed her fears by the paleness of her cheeks. When her attendant, the Count of Barlaimont, discovered her embarrassment he whispered to her not to be afraid of a gang of beggars. (Gueux.)* An epithet, thus applied to the confederates in contempt, was retained by them as a distinctive title of their party to keep alive their indignation against the intended insult.

This proceeding aroused the popular feeling, and tumults and sedition were the immediate consequences. In many of the cities, particularly in Antwerp, the monasteries and churches were forcibly entered, every object of idolatrous worship was seized and destroyed, the altars were demolished, and the Protestant worship was introduced. The populace, regardless of the solemn pledges of the confederacy to preserve order, carried their outrages to an unwarrantable excess, and committed enormities, in their furious zeal, which were calculated to defeat the noble and patriotic objects of the league. In consequence of these riotous and seditious proceedings which the nobility were unable to control, many of them withdrew from the Provinces. Among these emigrants were the Prince of Orange, Louis of Nassau, the Counts de Culemborg and Berg, and the Count de Brederodé.

These disorders produced a virtual dissolution of the confederacy; and the noblemen who had subscribed *the compromise*

* *Gueux*—pronounced *Ges*: the *e* as in *there*.

united their influence with the regent's authority, and succeeded in dispersing the mobs, and restoring tranquillity to the country. The *Gueux*, however, had resisted with obstinacy, and fought with a courage animated by their intemperate zeal. At this point, had clemency been extended to the insurgents, the progress of the Reformation would doubtless have been arrested. But the regent abused the advantages obtained, and, by her uncalled-for severities gave a new and an irresistible impulse to the popular agitation. "A cruel vengeance was taken on the Iconoclasts, the adherents of the *Gueux*, and on heretics. The executioners were every where full of work. In every city the victims might be counted by hundreds."

The regent, entitled also the Duchess of Parma, wrote to the Prince of Orange, and the Counts Hoorn and Egmont, and requested their attendance in her council. To her request, that they would communicate, without reserve, their opinions as to the real state of affairs, and the course of policy which it would be advisable for her to pursue, the Prince of Orange replied by reminding her of what he had stated on a former occasion. "Had his counsel then," he said, "been listened to, the evils complained of might easily have been remedied." "The Netherlands have for several years been a school, in which, if we have not been extremely inattentive, we may have learned the folly of persecution. Men do not for nothing forego the advantages of life: much less do they expose themselves to torture and death for nothing. The contempt of death and pain, exhibited by heretics in suffering for religion, is calculated to produce the most powerful effects upon the minds of spectators. It works on their compassion, it excites their admiration of the sufferers, and creates in them a suspicion that truth must certainly be found where they observe so much constancy and fortitude. Heretics have been treated with the same severity in France and England as in the Low Countries. But has it been attended there with better success? On the contrary, is there not reason, there as well as here, to say what was said of the Christians of old—That the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church? No such punishments were inflicted, either on the heresiarchs themselves or on their disciples, as are now practised in the Netherlands; and yet where are all those false opinions now, which the first broachers were at so much pains to

propagate?" "For my own part," he concluded, "I am entirely satisfied that it is impossible to root out the present evils in the Netherlands by force, without shaking the State from its foundation. I will now remind you of what we have all heard frequently, that the Protestants in the Low Countries have opened a correspondence with those in France. Let us beware of irritating them more than we have already done, lest, by imitating the French Catholics in their severity, we, like them, involve our country in the dreadful miseries of a civil war." Such were the counsels of an avowed Papist, whose humane and tolerant disposition seems to have excited in the breast of the regent a suspicion of the sincerity of his religious professions. Instead, therefore, of being governed by his advice, she referred her embarrassments and difficulties to the judgment, or rather to the bigotry, of the king.

Margaret, it appears, had disbelieved the representations of the Prince of Orange, as to the extent of heresy in the provinces; and when the discontent of the people exhibited itself in the general tumult which ensued, she complained, that the duty of enforcing unpopular laws had been imposed upon her, without an adequate force for compelling an obedience to them: and she was made, at one time, so fully sensible of the impossibility of extirpating the heretical doctrines by force, that she granted, in the exigency of the moment, a provisional moderation in the execution of the edicts. "Even the king himself, appeared, at a certain period, inclined to make trial of mild expedients. But through the influence of the bishops and other ecclesiastics, he changed his views." (Jones' Church Hist.) It has been the ancient and invariable policy of the Papal Hierarchy to redouble its blows upon its discomfited and retreating enemy; and the cruelties it has inflicted have always been in proportion to the impunity with which it could exercise its multifarious modes of punishment.

At this critical period, the confederacy was dissolved, and the spirit of Protestantism appeared prostrated before the government of the regency. It was therefore determined to strike the final blow: and Philip, to effect this object, sent into the Netherlands a formidable army, under the command of an experienced and successful general. On the 22d of August, 1567, Ferdinand, of Toledo, Duke of Alva, entered Brussels, at the head of 20,000

men, the victors on the battle-fields of France and Italy. Philip, at this period, possessed the best disciplined armies, and the most formidable fleets in Europe ; and these were commanded by the most skillful generals. The conflict in which he now engaged, seemed scarcely worthy of the great efforts he was prepared to make for the destruction of his subjects in the Netherlands, already disarmed and suppliants at his feet.

When information was received in the provinces of the approach of Alva, thousands fled into foreign countries. "All the roads," says Rotteck, "were thronged with bands of emigrants, and the sea was covered with fugitive vessels. Germany, France, and England, received these unfortunate refugees ; and the Netherlands looked sadly after their departure. A royal proclamation declared the whole country guilty of rebellion and treason : and full power was given to the commanding-general to punish the guilty at discretion. "This man of terror," says the same writer, who was himself a Papist, "great, it is true, as a general and a statesman, and distinguished already in the wars of Charles V. by the most brilliant exploits, but of a tyrannical disposition, morose, wily, without compassion, and withal superstitious and vindictive, made, during his six years' administration, all the provinces the theatre of the most inhuman atrocities." On his arrival at Brussels, Margaret resigned her authority. Egmont and Hoorn were seized by treachery and instantly beheaded.

One of the first acts of Alva was, the institution of a criminal tribunal, entitled a *council of disorders*, but which was called by the Flemings, the *council of blood*. This was designed to assist the inquisitors in the discovery and apprehension of heretics ; "for the sword of vengeance," says Rotteck, "was raised for the most part only over heretics. The Catholics, threatened besides by the general condemnation of the nation, were unwilling to bring it down upon themselves by manifesting sympathy for their unfortunate fellow-citizens." This council consisted of twelve persons, principally Spaniards ; and its president was Alva himself, and in his absence, his confidant, John de Vargas, a Spanish lawyer, distinguished for his avarice and his cruelty. Although one month was allowed, within which it was promised that none should be molested, for those who desired to leave the country with their families and their effects, secret orders were

communicated to the inquisitors to proceed against heresy with the utmost severity. Although certain offenders were designated as amenable to the tribunal, the distinction was deceptive, as its jurisdiction was unlimited, and its powers were really exercised as dictated by the governor. Those whose wealth attracted the attention of the inquisitors were selected as the devoted victims for destruction. So entirely arbitrary was its authority, that proceedings were instituted against the absent and the present, the dead and the living: and if the persons of the convicted were beyond its reach, justice was satisfied by the confiscation of their goods. We may well imagine the terrible execution it effected during the short administration of this cruel and tyrannical ruler, when informed on the authority of the Popish historian, "that Alva himself boasted, that he had caused the death of eighteen thousand persons; and that the property of the murdered and proscribed, brought into the royal treasury twenty millions of dollars annually." (Rot. Hist. World, vol. iii. p. 96.)

The whole machinery of Papal oppression and cruelty was now put in active operation; and the army was so organized, and distributed throughout the provinces, that resistance to this formidable system of tyranny seemed to have been placed beyond the reach of contingencies, and could scarcely have been anticipated. Antwerp was strongly fortified by forced contributions of the inhabitants. Citadels were erected at such places, that each might serve as a *point d'appui* of any future military operations; and troops were garrisoned in the several cities to overpower the latent spirit of rebellion. While the governor exacted from the people the most exorbitant assessments—of the hundredth penny upon the entire property of all the inhabitants, the twentieth of all immoveable goods, and the tenth of all moveable goods sold or alienated—the inquisitors were active and indefatigable in the application of their instruments of torture and death. "There was no distinction made of age, sex, or condition. Persons in their earliest youth; persons worn out and ready to sink under the infirmities of age; persons of the highest rank, as well as the lowest of the people; on the slightest evidence, and sometimes even on bare suspicion, were alike sacrificed to the rapacity and cruelty of the governor and his associates. At the time of the carnival, his soldiers, accompa-

nied by the inquisitors, like so many wolves, were let loose among the Protestants, who were seized in the middle of the night in their beds, and dragged to prisons and to dungeons. They were dragged by horses to the place of execution, and their bodies being committed to the flames, their sufferings were prolonged with ingenious cruelty. To prevent them from bearing testimony, in the midst of their torments, to the truth of their profession, their executioners were not satisfied with barely confining their tongues; they first scorched them with a glowing iron, and then screwed them into a machine, contrived for the purpose, to produce the most excruciating pain." (Jones' Church Hist.)

In the year 1572 important events transpired, which in their consequences led to an entire revolution in the affairs of the Netherlands, and to the emancipation of the seven northern provinces from the dominion of Spain.

The party had ceased to be generally designated by the title of beggars, or *Gueux*; but the Protestants, now acquiring renewed strength and power, were again distinguished by that appellation. Those who had concealed themselves in the forests and marshes, were called *beggars of the woods*; those who had resorted to commerce on the high seas, were known as *maritime*, or *marine* beggars; the simple title of *Gueux*, was applied to the adherents of Calvin and Luther. The marine beggars were engaged in committing depredations on the property of the subjects of Philip; and their prizes were carried into the harbors of England. Of this the Spanish ambassador complained; and Elizabeth, fearful of an open rupture with that monarch, was compelled to deny them any further protection within her dominions.

Those enterprising mariners, exiled from their country by the tyranny of Alva, and made desperate by the cautious policy of Elizabeth, made an unexpected attack upon the sea-port town of Briel, on the Isle of Voorn, formed by the branches of the Meuse river. This was the stronghold of the Belgic provinces. This movement was in concert with the designs of William, Prince of Orange, who had fled from the Netherlands to his paternal estates in Germany. Having been summoned to appear before the *council of disorders*, and condemned by that tribunal for contumacy, his dominions in the Low Countries were wrested

from him, and his possessions confiscated. It was at this period that he had levied an army of Protestants within the German Empire, but had been repulsed by the disciplined troops of Alva. An opportunity was now offered of making renewed efforts for the expulsion of the Spaniards. The beggars, encouraged by him, and aided by William, Count de la Mark, surnamed the *Boar of Ardenne*s, succeeded in their enterprise; and not only captured the city of Briel, but soon after obtained possession of Vliessingen and Tervere. This diversion, seconded by the inhabitants who groaned under the oppressions of the Spanish governor, and immediately took up arms in the contest, formed the nucleus of the great revolution which now commenced. The cities of Holland and Zealand, impelled by the same spirit of independence, raised the standard of revolt; and the Prince of Orange was called on to take the command of their armies. Utrecht soon after joined this new confederacy, which was further strengthened by the accession of Friesland. In an assembly at Dort, July 15th, 1572, William was declared *Stadtholder*, or governor of those provinces. Thus was laid the foundation of a new republic. Alva redoubled his efforts to recover the disaffected and revolted provinces, and desolation and carnage marked the progress of his arms. Haerlem was besieged by his forces, and taken after a protracted and an obstinate defence. The cold-blooded slaughter of two thousand of its inhabitants, gratified his revenge. His cruelties but animated his foes; and an ineffectual attempt, soon after, to capture Alcmaer, proved that he was not invincible. This savage conqueror was recalled by his own request, and he was succeeded in 1573, by Requesens. Don John of Austria, was appointed governor and commander-in-chief, after his death, in 1576. The discontent of the Spanish troops, and the superior generalship of the Prince of Orange, encouraged the other provinces to take up arms; and, with the exception of Luxemburg, the extreme south-eastern province of the Netherlands, joined in a confederacy on the 8th of November, 1576, by what was called the Pacification of Ghent. In a short time the government of Spain was restricted to Luxemburg, and to the insignificant provinces of Limburg and Namur.

Such was the state of their affairs in 1578, when Alexander Farnesé, Prince of Parma, son of Margaret, the former regent,

Popery ; the others adopted the Reformed religion, and modelled their doctrines and church government conformable with those of Geneva.

Holland* (for this new confederacy was distinguished by the name of the province superior to the others in power and wealth) having thus acquired its political and religious freedom, gave the first example of universal toleration. The Papists, as well as all Protestants of different denominations, were permitted to enjoy, unmolested, their several forms of worship and creeds, provided they made no attempts to disturb the tranquillity of the State ; under the following restrictions however. Those not conforming with the rites and doctrines of the Geneva Church, as well as the Papists, were excluded from all civil offices under the government ;† “the last were confined in their religious assemblies to private conventicles, in houses which had no external resemblance of the edifices usually set apart for divine worship.

“The ecclesiastical persons are considered as divided into four classes—professors at universities, preachers, elders, and deacons : and the government of the Church is administered by *consistories, classes, and synods*. The consistory is the lowest court, commonly consisting of the clergy and elders of a particular town ; while a class consists of deputies from several, and is commonly assembled three times a year, a part of its duty being to visit the churches, and watch over the conduct of the clergy. The synods are either provincial or national ; the first being assembled every year, while the national synod is summoned on the most important occasions only, when essential doctrines are to be discussed. The last was that of Dort, 1618.” (Pinkerton.)

It is the design of this compilation to trace the ecclesiastical history of each nation, from the period when its religious reformation commenced, to that at which it may be considered as either permanently secured, or overpowered and defeated by

* The inhabitants of the republic of Holland are called *Dutch*, from the German *Deutsch*, or *Teutsch*. But *Deutschland* signifies the whole extent of Germany itself.

† Pinkerton, however, on the authority of Busching, states, that civil offices were filled by *Protestants*, generally. The above statement was taken from MacLaine's Transl. of Mosheim.

the success of Popish persecutions. And I shall here, at the same time, remark, that I intended, from the beginning, to abstain from a discussion of the merits of those *doctrines* which have divided the several Protestant Churches, from their earliest organization to the present century. My object is to trace the progress of evangelical religion in the several countries of Europe. I view the subject in its general character; pursuing the history of the differences on those non-essential points which have divided the Christian Church into innumerable distinct and irreconcilable religious communities, so far only as might be deemed necessary to present a correct illustration of the true origin of those unfortunate divisions. The Reformation of the Church, or the revival and restoration of those great spiritual truths, which are recorded in the word of God, and the knowledge and belief of which are essential to salvation—truths which had been for centuries perverted or rejected by the Hierarchy of Rome—was the subject of my researches. My purpose has, for the most part, been accomplished. The great struggle for religious freedom and the right of conscience, may be considered as having been successfully closed, in Sweden, in the year 1528; in the Reformed cantons of Switzerland, in 1531;* in Denmark, in 1539; in Germany, in 1555; in England, in 1559; in Scotland, in 1561; but in Spain and in Italy, the spirit of reformation was entirely suppressed—simultaneously in those two countries about the year 1570. In the nations we have enumerated, the ecclesiastical systems established at the several periods referred to, have continued, with few variations, to the present time. And it may be here remarked, that from the period of the suppression of the Reformation in Spain and Italy, Protestantism has been stationary, if it has not positively retrograded, in Europe. It is an astounding fact, and which, however humiliating, is nevertheless a truth, that “no Christian nation,

* We have seen the Popish cantons of Switzerland denying liberty of conscience to the inhabitants; and have traced the controversies which distracted that country to the fatal battle of Cappel, in 1531. Peace was soon after concluded between the parties; and, by the treaty, religious liberty was guaranteed to such parishes within the bailiwicks as had embraced the Reformed doctrines. Geneva, in 1534, adopted those doctrines; and claimed the rights of a free and independent republic.

which did not adopt the principles of the Reformation before the end of the sixteenth century, has since adopted them."

In tracing the progress of the Reformation in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, one feature in its history has been omitted; the secret efforts of the pontiffs, through the instrumentality of the Jesuits, to restore that kingdom to the See of Rome. This has been intentionally deferred, as being intimately connected with the events arising out of the movements of the Protestant party in Scotland, and the intrigues of Mary, Queen of Scots. The revolution in the Netherlands formed also a part of the contemporaneous history of the course of policy pursued by Elizabeth in sustaining the cause of the Reformation. We shall now advert to the events to which we have alluded.

The events which transpired at the period of Elizabeth's accession to the throne, and immediately subsequent, formed a remarkable crisis in the Reformation. Besides those to which we have just referred, the influences exerted at the time, by the Order of the Jesuits then recently instituted, distinguished above all others for its zeal in promoting the interests of the Roman See, and in establishing the infallibility and unlimited supremacy of the pontiff, and by the Council of Trent, whose sessions had been continued at intervals since the year 1545, had an important bearing on the religious movements of the age. The Council of Trent, although not then convened, was still *in esse*; and as nothing had yet been accomplished for the reformation of morals, there were urgent calls for its convocation. To avert this, the reigning pontiff resorted to every stratagem and intrigue which the ingenuity of the court of Rome, ever fruitful of inventions, could devise. For this purpose he endeavored to kindle the flames of a general war in Europe; and among other plans, he proposed to the King of France to engage in a crusade against Geneva, for the extermination of the Calvinists.

Elizabeth received no equivocal intimations of the designs of the Pope against her possession of the throne, when Paul IV informed the English ambassador at Rome, that he claimed England as a fief of the Roman See; and that "if she would renounce all pretensions to the crown, and submit entirely to his will, she should experience the utmost lenity compatible with the dignity of the Apostolic See; that she, being illegitimate,

re wounds. The rebellion was, however, suppressed; and Elizabeth took the precautionary measure of removing Mary to Coventry, in Warwick, for safer custody.

"We can hardly conceive it possible for any one who reads with attention the various collections of state papers relating to this period of our history," says Keightley in his History of England, "to escape the conviction that there was an extensive conspiracy of the Pope, Pius V., the King of Spain, and the Duke of Alva, and in which the court of France also partly shared, which the object was the dethronement and probably the death of Elizabeth, the elevation of Mary in her place, and the overthrow of the Protestant religion." The unexpected discovery of the plot, and the prompt and energetic measures adopted by the government for its suppression, disappointed the hopes and expectations of the pontiff. The positive evidence of his having instigated the insurgents is contained in his letter to the two earls, in which he addresses them as "men dear to us and precious, as well by the study of Catholic piety, as by nobleness of birth." He praises them for having determined "to renew and confirm the ancient union of the Roman Church with that kingdom"—"delivered from the vile servitude of a woman's state, to the ancient obedience of the holy Roman See." He assures them, that "the omnipotent God whose works are perfect, and who hath excited you to deserve well of the Catholic faith, that kingdom, will be assisting to you. But," he continues, "if, in asserting the Catholic faith, and the authority of this Holy See, you should suffer death, and your blood be spilt, it would be much better, for the confession of God, to fly, by the commendation of a glorious death, to life eternal, than, living basely and ignominiously, to serve the lust of an impotent woman, with the loss of your souls." (McGavin's Protestant, c. 21.)

About three months after the date of this letter, (Feb. 20, 1570,) the celebrated bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*, was published. It failed to accomplish its object, as the dangers were removed before its promulgation. Copies of it were forwarded to the Duke of Alva, and by him sent to the Spanish ambassador in London; and a Jesuit, Felton, affixed it to the gate of the Bishop of London's palace. He was tried, and convicted, and executed as a traitor. He gloried in the deed, and was extolled by the Papists as a martyr. I shall tax the reader's patience by inserting the document

in full. It was written, it must be remembered, toward the close of the sixteenth century, and was not a production of the dark ages. It exhibits the true spirit of Popery, as it was in the reign of Gregory VII., and as it doubtless is in the present reign of his holiness Pope Pius IX.

“The damnation and excommunication of Elizabeth, Queen of England, and her adherents, with an addition of other punishments. Pius, bishop, servant of the servants of God, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*.

“He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, committed one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church (*out of which there is no salvation*) to one alone upon earth, namely, to Peter, the prince of the apostles, and to Peter’s successor, the Bishop of Rome, to be governed in fullness of power. Him alone he made prince over all people, and all kingdoms, to pluck up, to destroy, scatter, consume, plant, and build, that he may contain the faithful that are knit together with the band of charity in the unity of the Spirit, and present them spotless and unblameable to their Saviour.

“In discharge of which functions, we, which are by God’s goodness called to the government of the said Church, do spare no pains, laboring with all earnestness, that unity and the Catholic religion (which the Author thereof hath, for the trial of his children’s faith, and for our amendment, suffered to be punished with so great afflictions) might be preserved incorrupt. But the number of the ungodly hath gotten such power, there is now no place left in the whole world which they have not essayed to corrupt with their most wicked doctrines; amongst others, Elizabeth, the *pretended Queen* of England, a slave of wickedness, lending thereunto her helping hand, with whom, as in a sanctuary, the most pernicious of all men have found a refuge. This very woman, having seized on the kingdom, and monstrously usurping the place of supreme head of the Church in all England, and the chief authority and jurisdiction thereof, hath again brought back the said kingdom into miserable destruction, which was then newly reduced to the Catholic faith, and good fruits.

“For having by strong hand inhibited the exercise of the true religion, which Mary, lawful queen, of famous memory, had, by the help of this See, restored, after it had been formerly overthrown by Henry VIII., a revolter therefrom; and following and

embracing the errors of heretics, she hath removed the royal council, consisting of the English nobility, and filled it with obscure men, being heretics; oppressed the embracers of the Catholic faith; placed unpius preachers, ministers of iniquity; abolished the sacrifice of the mass, prayers, fastings, choice of meats, unmarried life, and the Catholic rites and ceremonies; commanded books to be read in the whole realm containing manifest heresy; and impious mysteries and institutions, by herself entertained and observed, according to the prescript of Calvin, to be likewise observed by her subjects; presuming to throw bishops, parsons of churches, and other Catholic priests, out of their churches and benefices, and to bestow them, and other church livings, upon heretics, and to determine of Church causes; prohibited the relatives, clergy and people to acknowledge the Church of Rome, or obey the precepts and canonical sanctions thereof; compelled most of them to condescend to her wicked laws, and to abjure the authority and obedience of the Bishop of Rome, and to acknowledge her to be sole lady in temporal and spiritual matters, and this by oath; imposed penalties and punishments upon those who obeyed not, and exacted them of those who persevered in the unity of the faith, and obedience aforesaid; cast the Catholic prelates and rectors of churches in prison, where many of them, being spent with long languishing and sorrow, miserably ended their lives. All which things, seeing they are manifest and notorious to all nations, and by the gravest testimony of very many so substantially proved, that there is no place at all left for excuse, defence or evasion.

“We, seeing that impieties and wicked actions are multiplied one upon another; and moreover, that the persecution of the faithful, and affliction for religion, groweth every day heavier and heavier, through the instigation and means of the said Elizabeth; because we understand her mind to be so hardened and indurate, that she hath not only condemned the godly requests and admonitions of Catholic princes concerning her healing and conversion, but also hath not so much as permitted the nuncios of this See to cross the seas into England; and strained of necessity to betake ourselves to the weapons of justice against her, not being able to mitigate our sorrow, that we are drawn to take punishment upon one to whose ancestors the whole State of Christendom has been so much bounden. Being, therefore, supported

for carrying out the machinations of the Papal party, and forfeited his life in the desperate adventure. He was executed in January, 1572.

It was about the period of these events that a more systematic plan was devised and put in execution, for propagating the Popish doctrines, and restoring the Romish worship in England. This was designed as subsidiary to the great and unceasing efforts made to extirpate Protestantism in Europe. The King of Spain founded a seminary at Douai, in the present Department of the North, but formerly the province of Flanders, in France, designed for the religious instruction of those educated for the clerical orders in the Church of Rome. This was the suggestion of William Allen, a Fellow of Oxford. The Pope extended his patronage to the institution by a liberal contribution of money. Other seminaries were not long after established in Rome, Valladolid, Rheims, and other Papal cities; from which issued annually ecclesiastics learned in the theology of their faith. These "seminaries," says Hume, "founded with so hostile an intention, sent over (to England) every year a colony of priests, who maintained the Catholic superstition in its full height of bigotry; and, being educated with a view to the crown of martyrdom, were not deterred, either by danger or fatigue, from maintaining and propagating their principles. They infused into all their votaries an extreme hatred against the queen, whom they treated as a usurper, a schismatic, a heretic, a persecutor of the orthodoxy, and one solemnly and publicly anathematized by the Holy Father. Sedition, rebellion, sometimes assassination, were the expedients by which they intended to effect their purposes against her; and the severe restraint, not to say persecution, under which the Catholics labored, made them the more willingly receive from their ghostly Fathers such violent doctrines." Thus was reared up, under the exigency of the time, another order (of Seminarists) which, united with that of the Jesuits, and cherishing an identity of feelings and principles, presented to the cause of religious liberty a phalanx more formidable than the combined armies of France and Spain. Such were the weapons which Popery successively brought out of its armory, well burnished and pointed for the desperate encounter.

Elizabeth was compelled in self-defence to adopt those severe

nity might offer of successfully rebelling against her authority. Such is the political code of Rome: and by such a feeble tie are the subjects of a temporal prince, and the citizens of a Protestant country, held in their allegiance and fidelity to their government. Whenever the sovereign pontiff has declared by a solemn bull, that "the people of any country are absolved from all manner of duty, of dominion, allegiance, and obedience, to their lawful sovereign," all such citizens and subjects, being Papists, are bound, by a paramount fealty to the See of Rome, to rebel against their government, and to accomplish its destruction, when imperatively required by its mandate.*

The vigilance of Elizabeth's government suppressed every effort, by rebellion, to overthrow her authority; but it could not intimidate the spirit which actuated the Jesuits to accomplish her destruction. The detection of one conspiracy against her life, and the execution of the offender, afforded no protection against future attempts of assassination. The temporary substitution of the dagger of the assassin for the sword of the rebel, so long as rebellion was perilous to the Papists themselves, sanctioned by the Holy Father, endangered the life of every distinguished Protestant in England. The Prince of Orange, and Henry IV. of France, fell victims to this diabolical principle.

In the year 1584, William Parry, an Englishman, went to Italy, and was there persuaded by the Jesuit, Palmio, to perform the meritorious act of murdering the queen. The nuncio, Campeggio, approved of the pious undertaking; and Parry visited Paris, on his return to England to accomplish his design. Doubts were there raised in his mind by two Popish priests, as to the morality of the deed; but Raggazzoni, the Pope's nuncio, confirmed him in his resolution. "He here wrote a letter to the Pope, which was conveyed by Cardinal Cosmo. He communicated his intention to the Holy Father, and craved his absolution and paternal benediction. From the cardinal he received a letter in the Pope's name applauding his purpose, and giving him the desired absolution." (Hume.) "A book, newly published by Dr. Allen, (afterward created a cardinal,) served further to remove all his scruples with regard to the murder of a heretical

* Do not the citizens of the United States see from this that the foreign Popish priests of this country are bound by no ties of allegiance to the government.

prince. One Nevil entered zealously into the design, and was determined to have a share in the merits of its execution. They agreed to shoot the queen while riding out; and resolved, if they could not make their escape, to sacrifice their lives in fulfilling a duty so agreeable, as they believed, to the will of God and to true religion." Circumstances, however, induced Nevil to reveal the conspiracy. Parry was arrested and confessed his guilt. Cosmo's letter was produced in court in confirmation of the charge, and the Pope's agent was executed.

Another conspiracy was detected in 1586. This seems to have originated with the Seminarists at Rheims. John Ballard, a priest of the seminary, devised the whole plot, which was readily assented to by the society. The bull of Pius, excommunicating and deposing Elizabeth, was believed by the Papists generally to have been dictated through the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Ballard went to England, under the assumed title of Captain Fortescue; "and he bent his endeavors to effect, at once, the project of an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion." This plot, having these multifarious objects in view, was necessarily communicated to many individuals, and among others to Mary herself, who seconded the project, and promised all the rewards which it would be in her power to confer. Fourteen persons were condemned and executed. It was the detection of this extensive and well-devised plot that hastened the fate of Mary.

In 1588, Philip II. attempted the invasion of England. To accomplish this object the resources of that powerful monarch were all brought into requisition, and throughout his extensive dominions the sound of preparation was every where heard. On the issue of this contest seemed to hang the fate of Protestantism in Europe. The conquest of that kingdom by this bigoted son of the Church would undoubtedly have brought under subjection to the Papal Hierarchy England, Scotland, and the republic of Holland. Sextus V., who surpassed his predecessors in capacity of mind, the grandeur of his views, the loftiness of his pretensions, and the aggregation of his vices, now occupied the pontifical chair. The full force of his spiritual authority was directed to secure success to the enterprise of Philip. He thundered his sentence of excommunication against Elizabeth, absolved her subjects from their allegiance, published a crusade of

Popedom against her kingdom, offered plenary indulgences to all who assisted in the invasion, and bestowed his benedictions on the armament before its departure. One hundred and eighty monks and friars, with their appropriate instruments of torture, for the conversion of heretics, accompanied the *Invincible Armada*; and Dr. Allen, a cardinal, was commissioned to take formal possession of England as a fief of the Roman See, in the capacity of legate. The result of these magnificent schemes of the Pope and the King of Spain is recorded in history. The wild and fantastic dreams of the ghostly Father were dissipated as the morning mist. "The Spanish priests," says Hume, "who so often blessed this holy crusade, and foretold its infallible success, were somewhat at a loss to account for the victory gained over the Catholic monarch by excommunicated heretics and an execrable usurper: but they at last discovered that all the calamities of the Spaniards had proceeded from their allowing the infidel Moors to live among them."

I shall refer to but one other attempt to take the life of the queen, which occurred in the year 1593: Rodrigo Lopez, a Jew, one of Elizabeth's domestic physicians, was executed on a charge of designing to administer poison to her, through the instigation of Fuentes and Ibarra, who assumed the command of the Spanish armies in the Netherlands, after the death of Parma. And in conclusion it may be remarked, that after the publication of the bull of excommunication in 1570, the plots and machinations of the Papists against her life were never entirely abandoned; and at no period of her reign, after the *anathema* was pronounced against her, was she safe from those designs. Elizabeth informed Henry III., King of France, of the frequent conspiracies to accomplish her death, by the Jesuits; "who," she said in her letter, "hold it meritorious to kill a sovereign whom the Pope has deposed."

The pontiffs in their continued efforts to subjugate the kingdom of England, and re-establish their authority over it, carried on their operations through every channel which opened communication with that country. In Scotland, many of the nobility were still attached to the Romish faith, and their influence was brought into requisition to accomplish that end. In 1593, the Earls of Angus, Errol, and Huntley, acceded to a proposal, to collect their forces, and to unite them with Spanish troops which

CHAPTER XV.

THE singular and unfounded pretension of the Anglican pre-
acy to the claims of an apostolic succession—a lineage which
hey should rather have eschewed than obtrusively assumed—
as exposed that Church to the corrupting influences of Popery.
This connecting tie has unfortunately preserved to our own
imes some of the ancient features of resemblance between those
cclesiastical polities, notwithstanding the marked differences,
n their government and doctrines, which distinguish them as
eparate and distinct hierarchies. Hence it was that Lord
hatham remarked of the Church of England, “that it exhibited
he anomalous compound of a Popish liturgy, a Calvinistic con-
ession of faith, and an Arminian clergy.”

In the reign of Elizabeth the rites of the Anglican Church
were too nearly assimilated to the superstitious observances of
he Papal worship, for the preservation of that purity of faith
which was characteristic of the Reformation. That sovereign
was tenacious only of her prerogatives as its supreme head, and
laimed as well an enlarging as a restraining power in all matters
cclesiastical. By virtue of this authority she assumed and
exercised the right of appointing archbishops and bishops, and
of appropriating to herself the revenues of the vacant sees. The
Bishop of Ely had promised to exchange a part of the land
elonging to his see for a pretended equivalent. This, it appears,
e was reluctant to perform. Elizabeth addressed him in the
ollowing language: “Proud prelate, I understand you are back-
ward in complying with your agreement; but I would have you
o know, that I, who made you what you are, can unmake you;
and if you do not forthwith fulfill your engagement, by God! I

will immediately unfrock you. Yours, as you demean yourself," &c. (Hume.)

The Stuarts entertained extravagant notions of royalty ; and James I., who succeeded to the throne of England, was equally tenacious of prerogatives alleged to have been founded on a divine right. Although early instructed in the tenets of the Scottish Church and professing an unshaken attachment to the Presbyterian form of government while King of Scotland, "he had observed," says Hume, "in the Puritans of that kingdom, a violent turn toward republicanism, and a zealous attachment to civil liberty ; principles nearly allied to that religious enthusiasm with which they were actuated."* Soon after his accession to the throne of England, a conference of bishops and Puritan ministers was held at Hampton Court. "The king," remarks that historian, "from the beginning of the conference, showed the strongest propensity to the Established Church, and frequently inculcated a maxim, which, though it has some foundation, is to be received with great limitations—*No Bishop, no King.*"† "The bishops, in their turn, were very liberal of their praises toward the royal disputant ; and the Archbishop of Canterbury said, that undoubtedly his majesty spake by the special assistance of God's Spirit." At this conference (1604) the liturgy was revised ; without any alterations, however, except by the addition of some forms of thanksgiving at the close of the litany, and of a few questions and answers, in reference to the sacraments, in the catechism.

The spirit of Puritanism was adverse to the principles of a monarchical government, and became the more offensive to the reigning sovereign as it appeared an insurmountable obstacle to

* "The Basilicon Doron, written by James in Scotland, pronounces the republican ideas of the origin of power from the people a puritanical novelty." (Hume.)

† "The convocation, in the first year of James' reign, voted as high monarchical principles as any decreed by the University of Oxford, in the reign of Toryism." (Hume.) Lord Bolingbroke remarked, that "the doctrines of High-Churchism skulked in the homilies of the Church of England until the reign of James I." In the year 1622, the University of Oxford sanctioned them by a solemn decree ; and again, in 1683, it re-affirmed the tenets of *divine right* and *non-resistance*. Oxford has ever been the depository of High-Church principles, or the dogmas of Popery. Its ancient opinions are now boldly advanced by the Puseyites.

his attainment and exercise of an absolute authority in the two kingdoms. "A Scottish Presbytery," said James in the conference, "agrees as well with monarchy as God and the devil." He made unceasing efforts to establish in Scotland the jurisdiction of bishops. This, however, he but partially accomplished. The simplicity in the form of worship, in which every thing was rejected which gratified the senses, and interrupted the solemn services of devotion, was the next object in his system of innovation. By the Articles of Perth new rites were introduced, such as kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, private communion, private baptism, confirmation of children, and the observance of Christmas and other festivals. These several changes were in part accomplished by the perseverance of the king before his accession to the throne of England. James aspired to a supreme jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs, but was obstinately opposed by the clergy. By the union of the two kingdoms, he acquired the power of enforcing his measures notwithstanding the opposition of the Parliament and the assemblies of the Church.

In the negotiation of a marriage treaty with the court of Spain, by which the Infanta was affianced to the Prince of Wales, James assented to an article by which the princess would have directed the religious education of her children till ten years of age. The pontiff, Gregory XV., succeeded in obtaining another concession in favor of the Papists, a promise on the part of the king, "to suspend the penal laws enacted against Catholics; to procure a repeal of them in Parliament; and to grant a toleration for the exercise of the Catholic religion in private houses." Through the influence of Buckingham the negotiation was abruptly terminated, and the project of the marriage abandoned. James, having at an early period of his life abjured the principles of Puritanism, and become the advocate and patron of diocesan episcopacy, at the close of his reign evinced a spirit of toleration, if not of fraternity, toward the Papists. His subsequent treaty with France, by which a naval force was placed at the disposal of Louis, ostensibly against Spain, but secretly designed to assist that monarch in his contemplated attack upon Rochelle, confirmed the apprehensions of the Puritan party of an indulgent feeling toward the Papists. The circumstances of the transaction were not fully developed before the death of James, and when com-

The priests appeared in public dressed in their official robes. Such were the fruits of a compromise with Popery.

These were not, however, the only disastrous results of the king's matrimonial connection with a Papist. The spirit of Puritanism acquired strength by these apparent measures of reconciliation with the court of Rome; and although Charles, to appease the popular indignation, and to secure his own domestic happiness, removed the causes of disquietude by the expulsion of the priests, and a renewed enforcement of the laws against recusants, the Puritans were clamorous against the growth of Popery, "which," says Hume, "was ever the chief of their grievances, and now their only one. The statutes were not enforced with a rigor commensurate with the evil; and a remonstrance was sent up from the House of Commons against some recent pardons extended to the priests. "An abatement of the more rigorous laws," says Hume, "was all the king intended; and his engagements with France, notwithstanding that their regular execution had never been promised, or expected, required of him some indulgence. But so unfortunate was this prince, that no measure embraced during his whole reign was ever attended with more unhappy and more fatal consequences."*

These were the leading events in the first year of the reign of Charles; and the controversies which arose between the House of Commons and the crown, and were continued until the decapitation of the king, may undoubtedly be attributed to the suspicions entertained of his religious sentiments. Charles, it is true, was arbitrary in the administration of the government, and would not permit his prerogatives to be called in question. In his efforts to maintain the assumed divinity of his royal rights, he was opposed by a Parliament in which were such distinguished leaders as Sir Edward Coke, Sandys, Philips, Seymour, Digges, Elliot, Wentworth, Selden, and Pym. The political history of the times is not, however, embraced within the design of the present work, and is but incidentally alluded to.

The king, disappointed in the supplies demanded of the House, resorted, in the following year, to another branch of his preroga-

* The king continued to employ *secretly* an agent in Rome, "to negotiate with the Pope concerning indulgences to Papists, and to engage them, in return, to be good and loyal subjects."

divine institution, and therefore can never be interrupted, suspended, or annulled, on any pretext." "That the Church is subject to the jurisdiction, not of the civil magistrate, but of God alone, particularly in matters of a religious nature." "That a bishop cannot, by deposition, be deprived of his episcopal character," and "that another substituted in his place is an intruder into the diocese." "That such intruder is a rebel against the state, and a schismatic in the Church, and those who hold communion with him are also chargeable with rebellion and schism; and, moreover, that this schism, which rends the Church in pieces, is a most heinous sin, whose punishment must fall heavy upon all those who do not return sincerely to the true Church, from which they have departed."

These opinions were maintained by ecclesiastics of the Church, with the sanction of the king. Sibthorpe, in a sermon, affirmed, that if the commands of the prince were against the laws of God or nature, or impossible, the subject was not, as in all other cases, bound to active obedience; but he was to passive obedience: that is, to undergo the punishment without either resistance, or railing, or reviling." "Dr. Manwaring, one of the royal chaplains, preached two sermons at court, maintaining that the king is not bound to obey the laws, that he may lay on what taxes he pleases, and that all are bound to pay them under pain of eternal damnation."

On the death of Abbot, in 1632, Laud was elevated from the diocese of London to the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury. Abbot was a Puritan in principle, strongly attached to civil liberty, and had incurred the royal displeasure by refusing to censure the sermon delivered by Sibthorpe. Laud's character was the reverse of that of his predecessor. His predilections were strongly in favor of Popery. He cherished a superstitious attachment to ceremonies, and entertained exalted notions of the prelacy as of divine appointment, and transmitted through successive ages from the apostles.* He was, at the same

* Chillingworth, Chancellor of Salisbury, a distinguished theologian, and the contemporary of Laud, in "The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation," argues against the Romanist tenet, that "succession is a certain and perpetual mark of the true Church," by maintaining that it is impossible to prove it, and that it is impossible that any individual can feel certain that his orders were derived by regular succession from the apostles, &c.

suggested "that the Romish Church retained more of the spirit and manner of the primitive Church than the Puritan and Calvinist Churches," and the Hierarchy of England assumed a loftier tone, and began to claim a higher sanction for its ecclesiastical institutions.

"Laud," says Hume, "and his followers, took care to magnify, on every occasion, the regal authority, and to treat with the utmost disdain or detestation, all Puritanical pretensions to a free and independent constitution. But while these prelates were so liberal in raising the crown, at the expense of public liberty, they made no scruple of encroaching themselves on the royal rights the most incontestable, in order to exalt the hierarchy and to procure to their own order dominion and independence. All the doctrines which the Romish Church had borrowed from some of the Fathers, and which freed the spiritual from subordination to the civil power, were now adopted by the Church of England, and interwoven with her political and religious tenets. A divine and apostolical charter was insisted on as preferable to a legal and Parliamentary one. The sacerdotal character was magnified as sacred and indefeasible; all right to spiritual authority, or even to private judgment, in spiritual subjects, was refused to profane laymen; ecclesiastical courts were held by the bishops, in their own name, without any notice taken of the king's authority; and Charles, though extremely jealous of every claim in popular assemblies, seemed rather to encourage than repress those encroachments of his clergy."

Laud and the clergy having assumed these lofty pretensions, as founded on a divine right, now advanced the Papal doctrine, that the royal crown itself was a gift of God through the hands of the bishop. The sovereign, they said, occupied a station between the clergy and the laity; and thus they exalted the ecclesiastical above the civil authority, and even above the throne itself. They claimed to be the vicegerents of the Most High; and if not invested with the spiritual and material swords of Boniface, they assumed the trust of the keys of St. Peter, as received from his immediate apostolic successors of Rome. The Church of Rome was now recognized and acknowledged as the true Church of Christ; from which only could be derived an authority to preach the word and to administer the sacred ordinances of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.

Popish Church. The communion table, which had been removed from the wall and placed in the middle of the church, in the year 1568, in the reign of Elizabeth, was again placed at the east end, railed in, and called an altar. The clergyman who officiated at the sacrament was entitled the priest. Kneeling at the altar, and the sacerdotal vestment worn by the Popish priest in the administration of that sacred ordinance, called a cope—both of which were abominations in the eyes of the Puritans—were introduced. Ornaments, pictures, and crucifixes, viewed as subjects of idolatry, were restored. Candles were again lighted up and placed upon the altar. Prayers for the dead were offered up, and confession and absolution renewed. And in all the public services of the Church there was a display of pompous ceremonies, and of attractive but unmeaning formalities, which was exceedingly repulsive to the spirit of a truly religious reformation. The doctrine of Transubstantiation, if not directly inculcated, was at least countenanced by the superstitious observances in the administration of the Lord's Supper. The elements were approached, and consecrated, with a veneration and solemnity little short of adoration. The rites observed in the consecration of churches partook of the fanciful buffoonery of a Popish ceremony. When the archbishop approached the west door a voice would pronounce the following words: "Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the King of glory may enter in." The doors were then thrown open: and when he entered he would fall upon his knees, and, with uplifted eyes and outstretched hands, announce with solemn intonation, "This place is holy, the ground is holy: in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy." He then advanced toward the altar, occasionally casting into the air the dust taken up from the aisle, and bowed at the chancel with a devotional reverence. Standing at the communion table, he fulminated successive curses against all who should profane the holy sanctuary; and at the conclusion of every anathema he would bow *toward the east* and exclaim, "Let all the people say, Amen."

Such were the profanations of divine worship, introduced into the Church of England, by a servile and superstitious imitation of the forms observed in what the prelates of the time were pleased

sarily abandoned that common ground which, with them, it had previously maintained;* and receded towards that ancient platform of government and worship from which it had in the preceding century withdrawn.

The Church of England, it is true, had clung with feelings of reverence to some of the rites and ceremonies of the Romish Church, and its form of government was still assimilated to that ancient institution; but now that it raised up the novel, but unfounded pretension of a spiritual character, derived through the Papal hierarchy from the primitive and apostolic Church, by an uninterrupted succession of prelates, its position became one of irreconcilable hostility to the spirit of a radical reformation: and, as it was thus brought to a closer approximation to the corrupt system of Popery, it viewed, with an increased abhorrence, the stern and uncompromising principles of Puritanism.

In consequence of this new relation in which it was placed with respect to the Papacy, it was not permitted to assail the Church of Rome; and the severest penalties were attached to a censure of the religious innovations. "Compositions," says Hume, "were openly made with recusants, and the Popish religion became a regular part of the revenue." Restrictions were imposed upon the press. The publication of writings, exposing the errors and the intolerant spirit of the Papal Church, and many even of a strictly religious tendency, were prohibited. Fox's Martyrology, Jewell's Works, and the Practice of Piety, were among those included in the proscription. "Zion's Plea against Prelacy," in which the bishops were denominated "men of blood," and Prelacy was declared to be "antichristian," exposed its author, the father of Archbishop Leighton, to a series of the most cruel and vindictive punishments. The writer undertook to "show the fearful sin of their pestering God's worship, and overlaying people's consciences with the inventions of men, yea, with the trumpery of Antichrist;" and invoked the Parliament to extirpate the hierarchy. In the Diary of Archbishop Laud it is stated, that, "on Friday, November 16th, Leighton was severely whipped before he was put in the pillory. Being set in the pillory, he had one of his ears cut off, one side of his

* See Appendix, D.

next his cheek branded with a red-hot iron, with the letters S.S. : and in that day sevennight, his sores upon his back, ear, nose, and face, being not cured, he was whipped again at the pillory in Cheapside : and there had the remainder of his sentence executed upon him, by cutting off the other ear, slitting the other side of the nose, and branding the cheek." He was afterward imprisoned : and remained ten years incarcerated, when he was released from his captivity by the Long Parliament. "having," says the historian, "by that time lost his sight, his hearing, and the use of his limbs."

The annals of the time have transmitted to us other instances of the cruel infliction of punishments. Prynne, in his *Historia-Martyr*, had censured the popery, and indulged in remarks disapprobatory of the recent religious innovations. "He was condemned to be put from the bar : to stand on the pillory in two places, Westminster and Cheapside : to lose both his ears, one in each place : to pay five thousand pounds to the king ; and to be imprisoned during life." While Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, were condemned to similar punishments inflicted upon Prynne, Chowney, a *ferce Papist*, wrote in defence of Popery, and the archbishop not only approved of the publication, but sanctioned it by his patronage.

Land, having firmly established the new organization of the Church, resolved to coerce the *foreigners*, who enjoyed the privilege of conducting their public worship agreeably to their own peculiar tenets, into a conformity with the English Liturgy and Church government. These *foreign Churches*, as they were termed, had been tolerated as early as the reign of Edward VI., and claimed, under a charter granted by that sovereign, in the year 1550, the right "to use, exercise and enjoy, freely and quietly, their rites and ceremonies, and their peculiar ecclesiastical discipline, notwithstanding they are not conformable to the rites and ceremonies established in the kingdom," &c. The congregations of these *foreign Churches* consisted for the most part of the descendants of the French, the Dutch, and the Walloons,* who had

* - The Walloons were inhabitants of the French and Austrian Low Countries, embracing the provinces of Artois, Hainault, Namur, Luxemburg, and a part of Flanders and Brabant. The language of the Walloons is the ancient, unadulterated Gaulish." (Burn's Hist. of Foreign Refugees.)

fled from the persecutions on the continent at that early period, and were, therefore, natives and citizens of the realm. The archbishop, by enjoining "all natives of these congregations within his diocese to repair to their several parish churches of those several parishes where they inhabited, to hear divine service and sermons, and perform all duties and payments required in that behalf," embraced in his injunctions almost the entire congregations; and by this arbitrary measure committed a palpable violation of their charter. The civil war which soon after commenced defeated the designs of that prelate; but "these churches," says Prynne, "were molested and disquieted some three or four years space; some of them were interdicted, suspended, and shut up for a time, for refusing conformity; others of them dissolved, their ministers deserting them rather than submit to these injunctions."

Through the influence of the prelate, the English ambassador at Paris was ordered to withdraw from all communion with the Huguenots; and the king thus proclaimed to the world that he was no longer the defender of the Protestant faith. Such was the state of ecclesiastical affairs in England, when Laud directed his attention to the churches in Scotland.

In 1633, the king, accompanied by the archbishop and other ecclesiastics, visited, for the first time since his accession, his Scottish subjects. The measures pursued by that bigoted prelate with the view of modelling the Church in that kingdom in conformity with the recent innovations introduced into the Anglican Church, were viewed by a people strongly attached to their religious institutions with abhorrence and disgust. The primate of Scotland, averse to the introduction of Popish rites, evinced his disapprobation by refusing to wear the gaudy vestments prescribed by Laud, and was treated with indignity in the presence of the monarch. Charles disregarded the public feeling, as founded on ancient and obstinate prejudices, and by an arbitrary and impolitic course effectually alienated the affections of the nobility, exasperated the clergy, and weakened the loyalty of the common people. The restoration to the ecclesiastics of the property of benefices which had been wrested from them in the last century by the royal authority, and vested in the laity, was another unpopular measure. Charles intimated, moreover, a design to resume the crown lands alienated by his predecessors.

These invasions of the interests, and what were deemed the acknowledged rights, of the wealthy proprietors in the kingdom, occasioned a general discontent among the most influential class of citizens. The aggravation was increased when civil dignities and powers were vested in the prelates, to the exclusion of the nobles. The object of these investitures was to increase their influence among the clergy, who, the king believed, could efficiently control the popular will. This preponderance was therefore designed as a means of carrying out his arbitrary measures. Spotswood, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, was appointed chancellor; many of the bishops were admitted into the council of State, and some of them into the department of finances; and it was further contemplated to permit them to exercise a judicial authority in part with laymen.

The several acts of the monarch for establishing more firmly the system of episcopacy in Scotland in conformity with that in England, excited the fears and the indignation of the Puritans, and completed the measure of the popular dissatisfaction. Charles, during his short visit in that kingdom, laid the foundation of those civil commotions which distracted all his measures throughout the subsequent period of his reign, and eventually led to his execution. The most fatal measure was the institution of a court similar to the Court of High Commission, established, and united to the regal power, by statute 1 Eliz. c. 1. Under the influence of Laud, this ecclesiastical body re-organized the Scottish Church, by the enactment of new canons and the introduction of the liturgy into the public services. Although the Assemblies, in the preceding reign, had been brought to an assent to the religious innovations, and the Articles of Perth were confirmed in 1621, there were considerations which weakened in the public sentiment the validity of those acts. Charles was therefore resolved to accomplish his purpose by the exercise of powers which he believed to be inherent in the crown; and, in conjunction with the bishops, to govern the Church by virtue of that authority alone.

An order was therefore issued for the reception of the new service book, before it had been compiled. In the mean time new rites were introduced. A font was placed at the door of each church, and the altar was erected in the chancel for the administration of the Lord's Supper. Canons were promulgated

which abrogated the entire system of Presbyterianism. When the liturgy was published, and its universal observance enjoined by royal proclamation, the excitement became intense. It was denounced from the pulpits, and severely criticised by the press. It was apparent that the compilation was but a transcript of that used in England, with a few inconsiderable amendments, by which it approximated still nearer to the ritual of the Romish Church. "Great prejudices, therefore," says Hume, "were entertained against it, even considered in itself, much more when regarded as a preparative, which was to introduce into Scotland all the abominations of Popery. And as the very few alterations which distinguished the new liturgy from the English, seemed to approach nearer to the doctrine of the real presence, this circumstance was deemed an undoubted confirmation of every suspicion, with which the people were possessed. Even their southern neighbors, they thought, though separated from Rome, still retained a great tincture of the primitive pollution, and their liturgy was represented as a species of mass, though with some less show and embroidery."

Such was the state of the public mind, when the Dean of Edinburgh attempted to introduce the new service in the cathedral church of St. Giles. Decked in all the gorgeous and splendid habiliments of his order, he arose, in the presence of his bishop, the judges, and the members of the privy council, "but no sooner had he opened the book, than a multitude of those whom Mr. Hume has entitled the meanest sort, most of them women, clapping their hands, cursing, and crying out: *A Pope! a Pope! Antichrist! stone him! stone him!* raised such a tumult, that it was impossible to proceed with the service." "An old woman, filled with zeal, sprang up and flung the stool she sat on at the dean's head, crying: *Villain! dost thou say the mass at my lug?* A tumult arose, the women wished to seize the dean, and he escaped with difficulty. The Bishop of Edinburgh ascended the pulpit to appease the people; sticks and stones were flung at him, and but for the aid of the magistrates, he would have perished on the spot." So irresistible was the opposition to the Episcopal rites, which the people of Scotland looked upon as tinctured with Popish superstition and idolatry, that all efforts to introduce them into the public worship throughout the kingdom were unavailing. In the cathedral of St. Andrew's, and in three

one of which consisted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of clergymen, and a fourth of burgesses. Another committee of a more general character was constituted, composed of representatives from the four primary committees, which seems to have been invested with executive powers—receiving suggestions from the former, and deciding upon the measures to be adopted. Minor subdivisions were made of the *Table* of the gentry, according to the several counties. This system ensured harmony and unanimity of action.

The first and most important result of this association was the production of the *Covenant*. This instrument was similar to that which was subscribed in the year 1580, and subsequently, in 1581 and in 1590, with such modifications only as the difference of circumstances required. It contained a formal and solemn renunciation of Popery, to which James I. had subscribed in his youth: it represented, moreover, the dangers which threatened the Reformed religion as permanently established in 1592, agreeably to the Presbyterian faith and polity; alleged the king's honor and the public peace to be compromised by the introduction of Episcopacy and the consequent subversion of the Presbyterian form of Church government; and expressed a solemn obligation on the subscribers to maintain the conditions and purposes of the compact. By it "they professed before God, his angels, and the world, and solemnly declared that, with their whole heart, they agreed and resolved all the days of their life, constantly to adhere unto and to defend the aforesaid true religion." "We promise and swear," was the language of the *Covenant*, "by the great name of the Lord our God, to continue in the profession and obedience of the foresaid religion; and that we shall defend the same, and resist all these contrary errors and corruptions, according to our vocation, and to the utmost of that power that God hath put in our hands, all the days of our life."

The *Supplicants*, as the opposers of Episcopacy were called, were invited to attend a solemn meeting to be held in Edinburg. Thousands of all classes, of both sexes, and of every age, convened on the day appointed: and amid prayers and fastings, and with uplifted hands, they gave their assent to the *Covenant*, and it was immediately subscribed by all the nobility, gentry, clergy and burgesses present. Copies were prepared and distributed through the kingdom. "Within two months all Scotland (Aber-

High Commission Court, the recall of the liturgy and canons, and, in addition to these, an independent Assembly and a free Parliament. Nor did their demands cease here: nothing could now satisfy them but an utter and radical extirpation of Popery in all its forms. They advanced yet further, and imputing to the bishops, with very plausible reasons however, all the grievances of which they complained, they insisted upon their exclusion from the Privy Council. The prelates, indeed, consulting their personal safety, voluntarily withdrew in compliance with the popular wish.

Charles would at this period of the controversy have cheerfully conceded demands which in his pride of power he had indignantly refused. He apprehended the destruction of a system which he believed the strong foundation of his regal power. After many subterfuges and evasions which convinced the Covenanters of his insincerity, he yielded his assent to the meeting of a General Assembly, on terms which they may be said to have dictated: "That lay elders should be recognized as constituent members of the inferior ecclesiastical courts, and eligible as members of Assembly;"—"that not only should the bishops, the former official moderators (or presidents) of Presbyteries, not be replaced, but these dignitaries might be legally prosecuted by the Assembly, and their usurpations restrained, if not their order entirely suppressed."

Under the royal authority the General Assembly convened at Glasgow, 21st of November, 1638. This is the highest ecclesiastical court of the Presbyterian establishment, and consists of representatives from the Presbyteries, the royal boroughs, and the universities. As a judicial tribunal, it has an appellate jurisdiction in all cases brought up from the Synods and Presbyteries. Its presiding officer, annually elected by the members, is entitled the Moderator. The Synod is composed of two or more Presbyteries; the Presbytery,* of the ministers of contiguous parishes, with a lay elder from each parish; the Kirk Ses-

* "The Presbytery takes young men on trial as candidates for license; ordains presentees to vacant livings; has the power of sitting in judgment on the conduct of any of its members, and can depose them; and has the general superintendence of religion and education within its bounds." This body is termed in England a *Classis*.

that the resolutions taken by the Covenanters could here meet with no manner of opposition." They claimed for the highest ecclesiastical court of the Presbyterian establishment a jurisdiction, in matters ecclesiastical, independent of the crown ; inasmuch as Christ was superior to the king.

The contest was thus brought to a crisis, and both parties prepared to maintain their respective measures by force of arms. The king called upon the English nobility for support ; and the ecclesiastical orders, through the influence of Laud, contributed liberally the means of reinforcing the royal army. The Papists also assisted in the preparations for what was called the *Episcopal war*, from their deep-rooted and peculiar aversion toward the Puritans and Presbyterians ; aware, that in the event of their success, their own religion and the entire structure of Popery would be banished from the two kingdoms. The Covenanters, on their part, were not less active and zealous in their measures of defence. Their clergy, from the pulpits, denounced the curse of Meroz against those who should refuse to come "to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty." A general assessment was made upon all the inhabitants, and was cheerfully submitted to. Few had not signed the covenant, and the movement in defence of religious liberty was indeed the act of almost the entire population of Scotland. "In raising both men and money the ministers took an active part ; and contributions for carrying on the war were levied by them from their respective flocks to an extent scarcely credible." "I propounded to my flock," said Livingstone, of the parish of Stranraer, "the condition of the army, and desired they would prepare their contributions to be given after sermon ; at which time we got £45 sterling, or nearly the half of the whole income of the place." "Nor was the spirit which pervaded the army less interesting or enthusiastic than that which characterized the whole body of the Covenanters : every company had fleeing at the captain's tent door a brave new color, stamped with the Scottish arms, and the motto, *For Christ's Crown and Covenant*, in golden letters. Every regiment was attended by a chaplain." "I carried, myself," says Dr. Baillie, who attended the army in the capacity of a chaplain, "as the custom was, a sword and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle. Our soldiers grew in experience of arms, in courage, and favor daily. Every one encouraged

enanters, thus victorious in the first conflict of arms, in a spirit of loyalty, proposed an armistice and a compromise, to which the king with promptness acceded: "having secretly retained an intention," says Hume, "of seizing favorable opportunities, in order to recover the ground which he had lost." "He agreed, not only to confirm his former concessions, of abrogating the canons, the liturgy, the High Commission, and the Articles of Perth; but also to abolish the order itself of bishops, for which he had so zealously contended." A treaty was concluded, 11th of June, 1639; and agreeably to its stipulations, a free General Assembly convened in the month of August following, and a Parliament soon after; each with the royal sanction. It was mutually agreed between the parties that to those high tribunals the subjects of their differences should be referred; and the Assembly having confirmed the proceedings and acts of that convened in Glasgow in 1638, the Earl of Traquair, as royal commissioner, consented to their ratification. Charles was apprehensive, however, that the Parliament would give a legal sanction to the acts of the Assembly, and ordered its prorogation to the following year.

It was evident that the regal authority could no longer control the popular feeling. "Traquair himself subscribed the *covenant*, and the Privy Council gave to this obnoxious bond the sanction of their authority, and attached their signatures to it; and the Parliament which met in June, 1640, confirmed by their solemn act, all the proceedings of the General Assembly respecting the covenant and the Presbyterian faith, by which they became the law of the land."

Since the Parliament in 1629, in which were marked evidences of that spirit of liberty which now agitated the public mind in both kingdoms, the king had not convened another. The remonstrance which had been somewhat tumultuously expressed by that body against the imposition of tonnage and poundage, by the authority of the crown alone, was the immediate cause of its dissolution. This right had been conceded to Henry V., and to his successors, during life, as they severally ascended the throne of England. Never, until the reign of Charles, had the exercise of this right been questioned. But as the Puritan party acquired an increased influence in the kingdom, the liberties of the subject, the constitutional privileges of Parliament, and the

had gone to England, were, in consequence of the discovery of this foreign correspondence, arrested and imprisoned. And it may be here observed, as an evidence of the great progress of the principles of civil liberty in the nation, that at this period the subversion of the monarchy and the institution of a republican government, had already become the subjects of serious, but secret deliberation.

Such was the relative position of the parties when the Parliament assembled. The king addressed them in a tone which was neither intended, nor was it calculated to soften the general irritation. They were informed, at the opening of the session, "that he did not expect advice from them, much less that they should interpose in any office of mediation which would not be grateful to him: and that he required them to grant a supply forthwith, after they should have time enough given them to represent any grievance and have a favorable answer."

"While men," says Clarendon, "gazed upon each other, looking who should begin, (much the greatest part having never before sat in Parliament,) Mr. Pym, a man of good reputation, but much better known afterward, who had been as long in those assemblies as any man then living, brake the ice." In a speech, two hours in length, he expatiated on the condition of the country, on the evils complained of, and on the dangers which threatened the civil and religious liberty of the citizen, by the arbitrary acts of the throne, and the countenance given to Popery through the recent innovations in the Church. "The principles of Popery," he said, "are such as are incompatible with any other religion. There may be a suspension of violence for some by certain respects; but the ultimate end, even of that moderation is, that they may, with more advantage, extirpate that which is opposite to them. Laws will not restrain them; oaths will not. The Pope can dispense with both these;* and where there is occasion, his command will move them to the disturbance of the realm against their own private disposi-

* The opinions expressed by Mr. Pym were practically illustrated in the reign of James II, who was a bigoted Papist; and who cherished strong scruples in giving his assent to all the laws which might be proposed for the greater security of the Church of England. There was evidently a conflict between his faith, as a subject of the Pope, and his political duties as King of England. This will be again referred to.

It was now evident that the opposition to the government approached a crisis: and, fortunately for the cause of civil liberty, every subsequent act of the king was marked by obstinacy and indiscretion. He persisted in his resolution to reduce his Scottish subjects to submission, and to re-establish the Episcopal hierarchy in that kingdom; and this brought into closer bonds of affiliation and mutual sympathy the Puritans and Presbyterians. By ecclesiastical subsidies, by forced loans from Spanish merchants, by the voluntary contribution of his dependents, and by various expedients, neither sanctioned by custom nor by law, Charles succeeded in procuring the means of levying troops for the invasion of Scotland.

With an army of nineteen thousand foot and two thousand cavalry, he approached the frontier of that kingdom.* Many of the troops were disaffected toward the royal cause, and when they were opposed, at Newburn-upon-Tyne, by a detachment of four thousand five hundred Scots, under Conway, they were routed and fled back into Yorkshire. A negotiation for peace was opened at Rippon. Before it was concluded, the Earl of Strafford, who had assumed the command in the absence of Northumberland, made an unexpected attack upon the Scottish quarters, and obtained an advantage. The consequences of this treacherous conduct, sanctioned by the king, were most unfavorable, as Strafford was a Papist; and a general clamor was raised against him "for employing that hated sect in the murder of his Protestant subjects." A cessation of hostilities was rather understood and expected by the parties than expressly stipulated. The negotiation was transferred from Rippon in Yorkshire to London. Such was the relation of the parties in the month of September, 1640.

On the 5th of November, 1640, Parliament assembled. This is known in the history of England as the *Long Parliament*; its existence having been protracted to the 19th of April, 1653, when it was forcibly dissolved by Cromwell.† The political

* "It is worthy of remark," says Hume, "that several mutinies had arisen among the English troops, when marching to join the army; and some officers had been murdered, merely on suspicion of their being Papists."

† It was informally recalled by a council of officers in 1659, and was entitled the Rump Parliament. On the 16th of March, 1660, it terminated its own existence.

sired that she would depart the country "for the quieting those jealousies in the hearts of his majesty's well-affected subjects, occasioned by some ill instruments about that queen's person, by the flowing of priests and Papists to her house, and by the use and practice of the idolatry of the mass, and exercise of other superstitious services of the Romish Church, to the great scandal of true religion."

The acts of Parliament, passed in the first and second years of its meeting, which laid the foundation of new principles in the government, and wrested from the king important prerogatives of the crown, were those which provided for the assembling of a Parliament every third year, independent of the will of the sovereign, and which secured the existing Parliament from prorogation, adjournment, or dissolution by a royal mandate, until all grievances were redressed. These were initiatory measures toward a dissolution of the monarchy itself. But while the Parliament was thus protecting the representative rights of the citizen, it was not forgetful of the personal security of the subject. The High Commission Court, which has been mentioned as having been erected in the first year of Elizabeth, had assumed in the two following reigns the power of fining and imprisoning, arbitrarily, and often beyond the degree of the offence, and was now abolished. By the same statute, the right of *habeas corpus* was secured to the citizen under a commitment by the king's Privy Council, as fully as under that of an ordinary justice of the peace; and the Court of Star Chamber as well as the Court of Requests, which were committees of the Privy Council, were both dissolved. Other inferior courts, the limits of whose jurisdiction were not strictly defined, were suppressed. The independence of the judiciary was secured, by making the tenure of office to be the good behavior of the judge and not the pleasure of the crown. Such were the beneficial influences of those Puritan principles of civil and religious liberty which now directed and controlled the council of the nation.

The first direct attack upon the civil privileges of the clergy was the attempt to exclude them from stations and offices in the government. This measure, adopted by the Commons but rejected by the Lords, would have deposed the bishops from their seats in the upper house of Parliament. A bill was immediately after introduced to abolish Episcopacy. From this period com-

and the queen, with the knowledge, if not the positive sanction, of the king. The English, in the district around the city of Dublin, called *the Pale*, (who were, if not avowed Papists, opposed to Puritan principles,) united with the Irish. "The English and Irish rebels," says Hume, "pretended authority from the king and queen, but chiefly from the latter, for their insurrection; and they affirmed, that the cause of their taking arms was to vindicate royal prerogative, now invaded by the Puritanical Parliament."

"After rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty, and the most barbarous that ever, in any nation, was known or heard of, began its operations. A universal massacre commenced of the English, now defenceless and passively resigned to their inhuman foes. No age, no sex, no condition, was spared. The wife, weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke." "But death was the slightest punishment inflicted by those rebels: all the tortures, which wanton cruelty could devise, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge, excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cause." "The weaker sex themselves, naturally tender to their own sufferings, and compassionate to those of others, here emulated their more robust companions in the practice of every cruelty. Even children, taught by the example, and encouraged by the exhortation of their parents, essayed their feeble blows on the dead carcasses or defenceless children of the English." "Amidst all these enormities, the sacred name of *religion* resounded on every side; not to stop the hands of these murderers, but to enforce their blows, and to steel their hearts against every movement of human or social sympathy. The English, *as heretics*, abhorred of God, and detestable to all holy men, *were marked out by the priests for slaughter*, and of all actions, to rid the world of these declared enemies to Catholic faith and piety was represented as the most meritorious." "While death finished the sufferings of each victim, the bigoted assassins, with joy and exultation, still echoed in his expiring ears, that these agonies were but the commencement of torments infinite and eternal." (Hume.) Three hundred thousand Protestants, it has been estimated by some writers, were sacrificed to appease the demon of Popery. The

CHAPTER XVI.

THE well-grounded suspicions that the king had countenanced the recent movements in Ireland, and his unshaken attachment to the hierarchy, from policy at first, and now from necessity, united the monarchy, the Church, and Popery,* in one common bond of interest, as a means of mutual defence. "Accustomed in all invectives to join the prelatical party with the Papists, the people immediately supposed this insurrection to be the result of their united counsels. And when they heard that the Irish rebels pleaded the king's commission for all their acts of violence, bigotry, ever credulous and malignant, assented without scruple to that gross imposture, and loaded that unhappy prince with the whole enormity of a contrivance so barbarous and inhuman." Such was the language of a historian who had embraced every opportunity of justifying the arbitrary and high-handed measures of Charles, and of attaching to the Puritans, in their opposition to civil and religious tyranny, the character of a party impelled by a factious and an unhallowed spirit, and by base and selfish motives. A monarchist in principle, a contemner of spiritual truth, and a constant apologist of the Stuarts, Hume was incapable of appreciating the motives of those who, in the seventeenth century, resisted the usurpations of that royal family, and the secular power, political tyranny, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the prelates. In his opinion, Charles, who cherished the most extravagant notions of the royal prerogative, was *unfortunate* when his schemes of ambition were frustrated; and Laud, who had inflicted the severest cruelties on those who would not succumb

* See Appendix, A.

During the agitation of this and other subjects, which contributed to the popular excitement, a *remonstrance*, in the form of a report from a committee of the Commons, was introduced, and discussed with a high degree of acrimony on both sides. It was intended as a direct appeal to the people for a redress of the grievances complained of. The past measures of the king were forcibly portrayed; and the dangers which threatened the liberties of the country from the designs of the crown were exhibited in strong and rhetorical language. In the enumeration of the many arbitrary acts imputed to the administration, "the introducing of superstitious innovations into the Church, without authority of law," was emphatically expressed. "All these grievances," the remonstrance declared in its conclusion, "which amounted to no less than a total subversion of the constitution, proceeded entirely from the formed combination of a Popish faction, who had ever swayed the king's councils, who had endeavored, by an uninterrupted effort, to introduce their superstition into England and Scotland, and who had now, at last, excited an open and bloody rebellion in Ireland." After a long and animated debate, the *remonstrance* was adopted, by a majority of eleven. The firm and decided language of this address humbled the imperious tone of the monarch, and in his reply "he made warm protestations of sincerity in the Reformed religion; promised indulgence to tender consciences with regard to the ceremonies of the Church; mentioned his great concessions to national liberty; blamed the infamous libels every where dispersed against his person and the national religion," &c. Charles now became fully sensible of the propriety of "confining himself within the limits of civility toward his subjects."

Rumors, whether true or false, were propagated of secret conspiracies against the Parliament, and of Popish plots to assassinate the members. The pulpits every where re-echoed the real or imaginary dangers which threatened the Protestant religion from the machinations of malignant Papists. The Commons countenanced the general apprehension, and ordered defensive measures for their personal security in the discharge of their duties. They issued a command for the immediate arrest of Popish priests and Jesuits; proposed a solemn conference with the Peers on the perils which surrounded them; and the deputy-lieutenants of suspected counties were commanded to prepare the people for de-

forming themselves against the expected attack. A petition from the apprentices of the city declared the apprehended dangers "attributable to no others but the Papists and the prelates, and the malignant party that adhered to them." The excitement among the populace was now ungovernable, and shouts resounded about Westminster. "No bishops! no rotten-hearted lords!" The premises of Whitehall, the residence of the king, were besieged, and threatening language was uttered by the multitude against his person.

Captains of the disbanded army, the dismissed soldiers, and the scoundrels of the House of Commons, tendered their services to the king, for his personal protection: and between this irregular guard, immediately organized, and the mob frequent skirmishes ensued, accompanied with bloodshed. Hence arose the epithets of *Round-heads* and *Cavaliers*: the former having been applied to the mob, and the latter to those who volunteered in defence of the king.

The bishops were not less exposed to the insults, and sometimes to the assaults of the populace. Williams, the Archbishop of York was seized and would have been murdered, on his way to the Parliament, had he not been rescued; and other prelates were subjected to similar indignities. At the suggestion of the apprentices, they addressed a protestation to the king and to the House of Lords, setting forth the dangers to which they were exposed in their attendance in the House, and availing of its proceedings illegal and invalid during their compulsory absence from the Parliament. The Peers immediately demanded a conference with the Commons on the subject of the protest. The latter declared the act of the bishops subversive of the constitution, and forthwith entered up against them an impeachment for high treason, and ordered their committal to the Tower. With these events terminated the year 1641.

The vote on the adoption of the *remonstrance* exhibited a party strength in the House still flattering to the expectations of the king. The Peers decidedly sustained his interests; and it was still questionable whether the majority in the Commons could not be overruled by the prudence of the king, or by some unforeseen and happy change of circumstances. This was undoubtedly an important crisis. But the popular current received a determined impulse by the events which immediately after

transpired. The imprisonment and deposition of the protesting bishops were followed by an attempt of the king to arrest in the House certain members accused by him of high crimes and misdemeanors, and an indiscreet violation of its privileges by going in person into the hall, protected by an armed force, and demanding their surrender.

The protest of the bishops was an acknowledged violation of the constitution, and the consequent sequestration of their seats diminished the numerical strength of the royal party in the House of Peers; the intrusion of the king was a palpable infringement of the privileges of the Commons, and excited the indignation of the populace, who were prompt to defend the integrity of that branch of the legislature by which their rights and interests were represented. The cries of "*Privileges of Parliament*" resounded in the ears of the monarch, as he returned from Westminster to the palace at Whitehall. His designs against the members were not only thus signally defeated, but they aggravated the public feeling; and from this period the events of the revolution followed each other in rapid succession, until the hierarchy and the monarchy were laid prostrate at the feet of an injured and an indignant people.

Petitions from all classes accumulated on the tables of the Commons, and they declared, in unequivocal language, "that there were no other means of averting the impending ruin, than the removal of the bishops and the Popish lords, and others of that malignant faction;" "which, if not," said the petitioners, "we shall be forced to lay hold on the next remedy which is at hand to effect it—want and necessity breaking the bounds of modesty." The supplicants suggested—what they deemed an effectual plan for the accomplishment of their end—a union of the peers who favored the reformation of the Church and State, with the Commons, as an entire body, in deliberations for the public weal. The harshest epithets were applied to those who sustained the court, and they were entitled, "an adverse, a malignant, blood-sucking and rebellious party." They desired "that justice might be done upon offenders, according as the atrocity of their crimes had deserved, for if those things were any longer suspended, they should be forced to extremities not fit to be named, and to make good that saying that necessity hath no law." Among these remonstrants, the women were not

be given to none but those of whom they approved, (that is, whom they should appoint;) that the laws against recusants should be put in force, and their children be taken from them to be educated by Protestants, &c." These concessions the king with promptness, and in anger, refused to grant.

On the 25th of August, 1642, the royal standard was raised at Nottingham, on the Trent; and on the 23d of October following, the first engagement occurred at Edgehill, in Northamptonshire. This was followed by a series of battles, without any decided result on either side, and in which there was little of military skill and generalship displayed by those who directed the movements of the respective forces. In the mean time the queen returned to the continent to obtain arms and ammunition, which she purchased with the crown jewels in Holland, and in February of the following year rejoined the king at York. An effort was made to terminate the war by a negotiation at Oxford; but the demands of the Parliament, among which was the absolute abolishment of Episcopacy, were rejected by the king, and hostilities were resumed. In the month of September, 1643, the battle of Newbury was fought, with a considerable loss on both sides, but without a decided advantage on either, and both armies retired into winter quarters. The issue of the contest was still as doubtful as at the commencement of the civil war.

The king had determined to strengthen his army by reinforcements from Ireland; and to accomplish this purpose, he effected a cessation of hostilities which had been carried on against the insurgents in that kingdom. This he was the more easily enabled to do, from the common sympathy existing between the Irish and the royal party in England on the subject of religion. The Papists universally sustained the cause of Charles; aware, that in the event of a final triumph by the Puritans, the whole system of Popery would be utterly abolished. At the close of this campaign, a treaty was concluded by the Marquis of Ormond; and by this the Irish agreed to contribute £30,000, to aid in defraying the expenses of the war. This measure was unfavorable in its consequences. With the English regiments brought over from Ireland were many Irish Papists, who committed the same atrocities and cruelties of which they had been guilty in their native country; and their conduct so exasperated the

Parliamentary party that orders were given to slay them without mercy. Many of the English troops who had witnessed the abominations of Popery in Ireland, deserted the royal standard and united with the Puritans. Added to these causes was the general indignation excited against the king, "for tolerating anti-christian idolatry, on pretence of civil contracts and political agreements," and for introducing into England these bands of Popish murderers.

While Charles was engaged in his negotiations with the supreme executive council of Kilkenny, the Parliament directed its attention to Scotland; and commissioners were empowered to form a confederacy with that kingdom, for mutual defence and safety. By the terms of pacification confirmed between the king and his Scottish subjects, in 1640, that monarch was pledged to convene a Parliament triennially. The period now approached when that body should be summoned; but when Loudon required of Charles the fulfillment of his obligation, the application was peremptorily refused. The Covenanters, however, assumed the responsibility of directing the administration of national affairs; and, accordingly, the conservators of the peace, recently appointed "to maintain the confederacy between the two kingdoms," ordered, in the king's name, but by their own authority, a convention of States. At the same time the General Assembly of the Church convened. With these councils the English commissioners, at Edinburg, on the 29th of November, 1643, entered into a *solemn league and covenant*. "In this *covenant*, the subscribers, besides engaging mutually to defend each other against all opponents, bound themselves to endeavor, without respect of persons, the extirpation of Popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of Parliaments, together with the king's authority; and to discover, and bring to justice, all incendiaries and malignants." They also obliged themselves to maintain and to protect the Reformed religion, as established in the Church of Scotland, and that in England and Ireland "according to the word of God, and the example of the purest Churches." The Scots, at the same time, entered into an obligation, based upon this *solemn league and covenant*, to furnish an army of twenty-one thousand men, to be paid by the English Parliament. This treaty was at once

duly ratified by Parliament. It was subscribed by all the members, and ordered to be received by those united with them in the common cause.

The Presbyterian form of Church government was never cordially received in England ; and, except in London and in Lancashire, cannot be said to have ever flourished in that kingdom. In 1572, about twenty years before it was established in Scotland, the first Presbyterian Church was organized at Wandsworth, in Surrey. In the celebrated *remonstrance* by Parliament in 1641, a suggestion was expressed of the propriety of calling an ecclesiastical council or synod, for redressing the grievances complained of. Early in the spring of 1643, Scottish commissioners visited the king at Oxford, and endeavored to persuade him to new-model the English Church agreeably to the form of that in Scotland ; but that monarch was inflexible in his adherence to Diocesan Episcopacy and the liturgy : and in the negotiations which were attempted, to terminate the civil war, and in which those commissioners participated, the subject was introduced, but with a similar result. In June, Parliament resumed the discussion of ecclesiastical affairs ; and adopted, at length, the following ordinance, which forms a memorable epoch in the history of the Presbyterian Church : “ Whereas, among the infinite blessings of Almighty God upon this nation, none is, or can be, more clear to us than the purity of our religion ; and for that as yet many things remain in the liturgy, discipline and government of the Church, which do necessarily require a further and more perfect reformation than as yet hath been obtained ; and whereas it hath been declared and resolved by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that the present Church government, by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors, commissars, deans, and chapters, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers, depending upon the hierarchy, is evil and justly offensive and burdensome to the kingdom, a great impediment to reformation and growth of religion, and very prejudicial to the state and government of this kingdom ; therefore they are resolved, that the same shall be taken away, and that such a government shall be settled in the Church as may be most agreeable to God’s holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland, and other Reformed Churches abroad ;

of discipline, but what should conduce most to the glory of God, and to the good and peace of the Church.”*

One hundred and twenty-one divines, and thirty laymen, selected by the Parliament for their piety and learning, composed the Assembly. Each county was represented by two members; and exclusive of the supernumerary divines, there were three commissioners from Scotland. The established doctrines contained in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and in the confessions of faith of the Reformed Churches of France, Scotland, and Geneva, were maintained without a dissenting opinion; and there was an equal unanimity on the question of the *parity of ministers*, founded, as it was admitted, on the identity in Scripture of *presbyters* and *bishops*. The institution of ecclesiastical judicatories was the principal point of difference, and this was determined by a compromise, and a concession of opinions involving no principle of the Christian faith. That some differences of religious opinions existed in so numerous a body, composed of individuals convened from the various counties in the kingdom, laymen as well as divines, and at a period of civil anarchy and political revolution, cannot excite surprise; nor should it weaken our confidence in the disinterestedness, or in the wisdom of their deliberations.

“Those who made up the Westminster Assembly,” says Smyth, on the authority of Orme, “and who were the honor of the Parliamentary party throughout the land, were almost all such as had, till then, conformed.” “The Parliament itself, by which the members were selected, was composed,” says the same writer, on the authority of Clarendon, “of persons who had been, almost to a man, Episcopalians, and attached to Episcopal government.” The ordinance, however, which brought the Assembly into existence, was evidently designed to subvert the established hierarchy of England, and to reform the liturgy, discipline, and government of the Church; bringing it thereby to a nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland, and other

* “The Assembly continued to act and to deliberate, till 1648-9, about three weeks after the king’s death; having sat five years, six months, and twenty-two days: during which time they had eleven hundred and sixty-three sessions. They were still employed after that time, as a committee for the examination, ordination and induction of ministers, until the dissolution of the Long Parliament by Cromwell.” (Smyth.)

who was not, however, deemed, either in sanctity or rank, superior to the rest of the brethren. Another peculiar feature of this system was, that any member of the congregation had a right to preach, or communicate publicly his spiritual instruction, at any time, or on any occasion, as he pleased. Such was the religious system of the Brownists, or Independents, until the year 1602. In that year a dissenting church was formed in the North of England, which was driven by persecution to Holland in the year 1608. Their pastor, John Robinson, accompanied them; but in 1616 many of them returned to England, and a church was re-organized under the pastoral charge of Henry Jacobs, agreeably to the modifications introduced by Robinson in Holland. They, however, renounced the distinctive appellation of *Brownists*, and were denominated *Independents*. Robinson has thus been considered as their founder. They were more tolerant in their religious views than the disciples of Brown; communed with the other Reformed churches; prohibited their members from preaching without an expressed permission from the congregation, after an examination of their capacity and talents, and therefore provided for a more regular and well-ordered ministry in their communities; and, as Mosheim remarks, "differed from the Presbyterians or Calvinists in no single point of any consequence except that of ecclesiastical government." In the year 1658, the leading members of the *Independent churches*, under the auspices of Cromwell, adopted a standard of faith and discipline, at their meeting in London, which was entitled, "The Savoy Confession, or a Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised by the *Congregational churches* in England, agreed upon and consented unto by the elders and messengers in their meeting at the Savoy, October 12th, 1658." By the "Act of Uniformity," passed in 1662, after the Restoration, the Independents, like all other dissenters from the Church of England, suffered under persecution. Their religious privileges were, however, restored to them by the "Act of Toleration," passed in the year 1689. They had then diminished in numbers, and were a much smaller body than the Presbyterians. In the following year, or in 1690, these two denominations, by articles of union, entitled "Heads of Agreement," consented to waive the points of difference between them in their respective organizations, and to act together in all matters of a common

gationalists, may be discoverable in this—that the former reject, unconditionally, the communion of churches for the purposes of order, discipline, or faith.

The most distinguished divines of the party of Independents in the Westminster Assembly, were Nye, Goodwin, and Burgess. The Lords, Say and Wharton, and Sir Henry Vane and Oliver Cromwell, were of that party in Parliament.

The *Erastians* differed from the other denominations of Christians on the subject of Church discipline. They derived their origin from Erastus, a German divine of the sixteenth century. He maintained that the pastoral office was only persuasive, and without any aid from the influences of the Holy Spirit. The Lord's Supper, and all the ordinances of the Church, he contended, should be free and open to all, without any discrimination of persons. The minister might dissuade those whom he believed not to be qualified to partake of the sacred ordinances, but could not prohibit them, nor had he a right to censure them. The punishment of all offences, civil or religious, was not vested in the Church, but reposed in the civil authorities exclusively; nor could it enforce any acts of discipline. The advocates of this system in the Assembly were, Lightfoot, Selden, and Whitelocke. It was defended by St. John, and other distinguished leaders, in Parliament.

By the solemn league and covenant, Episcopacy was abjured, and the liturgy abolished; it became necessary, therefore, to provide for an established form of worship, and, accordingly, the Westminster Assembly was instructed to prepare a "*Directory*," to be introduced by authority. This work was accomplished, and submitted, in 1644, to the Parliament for adoption; and, after much discussion, received the sanction of that body. The directory, thus composed for the use of all the Churches, consisted of general rules, to be modified and enlarged according to circumstances and the propriety of the occasion. No particular forms of prayer (as in the liturgy of the Episcopal Church) were prescribed. The following summary will embrace the essential provisions contained in it: "It forbids all salutations and civil ceremony in the churches. It declares the reading the Scriptures in the congregation to be a part of the pastoral office; all the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments (excluding the Apocrypha) are required to be read in

the vulgar tongue. It prescribes rules for preaching the word, and the substance of what ought to be included in the public morning prayer, requiring that the introduction to the text be short and explanatory, and based upon the text itself, or some parallel verses in Scripture. The minister is directed to regard, in his discourse, rather the order of the matter than that of the words; not to burden the memory of his audience with too many divisions and subdivisions, nor to perplex their understanding with logical phrases and terms of art; not to suggest unnecessary objections; to be sparing in citations from ecclesiastical or other human authorities, ancient or modern. It recommends the use of the Lord's Prayer as the most perfect model of devotion. It forbids private or lay persons to administer baptism, godfathers and godmothers, the sign of the cross in baptism, and enjoins this ordinance to be performed in the face of the congregation. It orders the communion table, at the Lord's Supper, to be so placed that the communicants may sit about it. The altar with rails was exchanged for the table; *kneeling* at the eucharist was disused. It discards the burial service, the ring in marriage, all peculiar garments for officiating ministers, and saints' days. It enjoins a strict observance of the Sabbath, publicly and privately; the visiting of the sick by the minister under whose charge they are; the keeping of fast days, when the judgments of God are abroad, or when some important blessings are desired; and days of thanksgiving for mercies received. It says that singing of Psalms together, in the congregation, is the duty of Christians. In an appendix to the directory it is ordered, that all festivals, vulgarly called holydays, be abolished; that no day be religiously kept, (except those already prescribed,) or its observance in any manner required, but the Lord's days only; and finally, it says, that as no place is capable of any holiness under the pretence of consecration, so neither is it subject to pollution by any superstition formerly used; and therefore it is held requisite, that the places of public worship now (then) used should still be continued and employed as places of divine worship," &c.

The subject of *doctrines* was referred to the Assembly, and committees were appointed to revise the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. The whole body was divided into three committees for the accomplishment of this work, and to

each of these a certain number of those Articles was submitted. After a fruitless labor of ten weeks their proceedings were arrested, and a special committee was appointed in May, 1645, to prepare an entirely new compendium of faith. A *Confession** having been completed, in accordance with this instruction, in November, 1646, it was submitted to the Assembly—was reviewed and amended; and in May, 1647, it was published. Parliament, having carefully examined the whole work, ordered it to be published, in June, 1648, under the title of "Articles of Religion, approved and passed by both Houses of Parliament, after an advice had with an Assembly of Divines, called together by them for that purpose." "The whole confession," says Smyth, "being immediately transmitted to Scotland, was received with approbation by both the General Assembly and Parliament, and has continued to be the established doctrine of the Church of Scotland until this day, and of all the Presbyterian Churches founded by her in England, Ireland, America, and all other parts of the world." "It has been embodied almost verbatim in the confession adopted by the Congregationalists at the Savoy Conference, in their Cambridge and Saybrook platforms, and in the confessions of the Old South Church in Boston, and in other New England churches, and also by the Calvinistic Baptists."

The Catechisms, distinguished as the "*Larger*," and the "*Shorter*," were at the same time compiled for the use of the churches, and were presented to the Parliament for approval and ratification: the latter in November, 1647, and the former in April, 1648. These systems of spiritual instruction differ widely from that which was adopted in the Church of England. They comprise in substance all that is embraced in the Confession of Faith, and form of themselves a perfect compendium of orthodox theological knowledge. The Catechism of the Episcopal Church was originally intended as no more than an expo-

* "The outline of this work," says Smyth, "would appear to have originated with Alexander Henderson, the leader of what is termed the second Scottish Reformation, who had been appointed by the General Assembly of Scotland, in 1641, to draw up a confession of faith, a catechism, a directory for all parts of public worship, and a platform of government—and who was a commissioner from Scotland to the Westminster Assembly." (Hist. of the Westminster Assem. by Rev. Thomas Smyth.) To this excellent work I have referred, for many facts stated, as unquestionable authority.

ment of the baptismal vow : and, previous to the reign of James I. it constituted a repetition of what was professed in the administration of the sacrament by the infant initiate through his sponsors. It included the creed, and the Lord's Prayer. After the conference at Hampton Court, in 1604, the bishops were directed to prepare a concise explanation of the nature of the sacraments : which work was executed by Bishop Overall, then Dean of St. Paul's and having been approved of, was appended to the catechism.*

The form of Church government presented the greatest obstacle to unanimity of counsel in the Assembly. This unavoidably arose from the contrariety of opinions, which, as we have already seen, prevailed in that body on the true character of the Church as an ecclesiastical society, in its relation to other Christian communities, and to the civil power of the nation. The episcopal hierarchy was abolished ; but there was, notwithstanding, a party still disposed to preserve some of the features of Episcopal Episcopacy. Through the influence, however, of the *Sacred Arches*, this system was wholly abandoned ; and when, after discussion, the question of a parity of ministers was submitted, the decision of the Assembly was conclusive on the subject. "All adopted as of divine right this radical principle of Presbyterian Church government." The difference of opinions on ecclesiastical jurisdictions was not as easily compromised. The political influence of Cromwell, who was attached to the principles of the Independents, interposed and prevented an expected reconciliation of parties. The Independents conceded in the discussions, "That synods are an ordinance of God upon all occasions of difficulty : that all the churches of a province may call a single congregation to account ; that they may examine and admonish, and, in case of obstinacy, may declare them to be subverters of the faith : that they have authority to determine in controversies of faith : that they may deny Church communion to an offending and obstinate congregation, and that

* The Papists, who were making every effort to counteract the influences of spiritual instruction and gospel truth, compiled in the year 1566 their "*Catechismus ad Parochias*," which was approved of by Pope Pius V., and published ; and was an appropriate contribution, by the Council of Trent, to their system of idolatrous worship.

this sentence of non-communion may be enforced by the authority of the civil magistrate ; and that they may call before them any person within their bounds concerned in the ecclesiastical business before them, and may hear and determine such causes as orderly come before them."

The Independents, who maintained that every particular congregation of Christians has a full power of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over its members, and the Erastians, who denied that the Church had any power to enforce acts of discipline, but referred the punishment of all offences to the civil magistrate, necessarily opposed the Presbyterian system of Church government founded on the principle of the subordination of inferior to superior judicatories. The concessions they may have been disposed to make must therefore have proceeded from a spirit of compromise and conciliation. It was upon this point only that their counsels were divided. The deliberations of the Assembly resulted in establishing a form of government strictly Presbyterian. That body closed its labors by preparing a metrical version of the Psalms of David, for public worship ; a work composed by Francis Rous, a lay member of the Assembly, and introducing the psalmody of the Congregational churches.

"On the 22d of March, 1648, a conference was held between the two Houses, to compare their opinions respecting the Confession of Faith, when the following declaration was made and published : The Commons this day, (March 22d,) at a conference, presented the Lords with the Confession of Faith passed by them, with some alterations, viz : That they do agree with their lordships, and so with the Assembly, in the doctrinal part, and desire the same may be made public, that this kingdom, and all the Reformed churches of Christendom may see the Parliament of England differ not in doctrine."

The directory for public worship having been adopted, and the liturgy abolished, an ordinance was passed, on the 23d of August, 1645, which imposed a fine of £5 for the first offence, in using the "Book of Common Prayer;" for the second offence, a penalty of £10 ; and a year's imprisonment for the third. This prohibitory and penal act extended "to any one who, in a church, chapel, or private family, should use the prayer-book," and "all prayer-books remaining in churches and chapels were by it ordered to be given up to the committees of counties. It

was at this time that a committee was appointed, with an inquisitorial power of scrutinizing into the conduct and character of the Episcopal clergy. They were invested with authority to depose such as were convicted of immoralities or false doctrines. The number of the ejected clergy amounted, it has been stated, to two thousand; but one-fifth of the income of those ejected was appropriated to the support of their wives and children. "The greater part, however, we are assured," says Keightley, "were put out for immorality, in whose places were substituted men recommended by the parishes and approved of by the assembly of divines." "They cast out," says Baxter, who was a cotemporary, "the grosser part of insufficient and scandalous clergy, and some few civil men, that had acted in the wars for the king; but left in near one-half of those that were but barely tolerable. In the counties where I was acquainted, six to one of the sequestered ministers were, by the oaths of witnesses, proved insufficient, or scandalous, or both." "All historians," says Hume, "who lived near that age, represent the civil disorders and convulsions as proceeding from religious controversy, and consider the political disputes, about power and liberty, as entirely subordinate to the other;" and a distinguished writer has, with strong emphasis and certainly with much appropriateness, remarked: "In such a season of national danger and alarm, when all that was dear to the soul was put in jeopardy, who could expect the Presbyterians to entrust *their enemies* with offices of power and trust!" "National religion, safety, liberty, and peace forbade. And if such exclusion was intolerant, then is every government and society now intolerant, since they exclude from office such as are disqualified by their opposing views to fill them." It is certain that *Puritanism* and *Episcopacy* were antagonist principles in the contest, and that the adherents to the king were, without an exception, the uncompromising advocates of the latter.

The Commons, in the first session of the Long Parliament, entered up an impeachment against the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his seat was immediately sequestered. He remained in custody until the 12th of March, 1644, when he was formally arraigned under the charge "of attempting to subvert the rights of Parliament and the laws of the realm, and to introduce arbitrary power," and also, "to alter and subvert God's true religion

by law established in this realm, and instead thereof to set up Popish superstition and idolatry, and to reconcile us to the Church of Rome." Laud had, by an indiscreet and intemperate expression, incensed the Commons; declaring that, "though they were his accusers, they did not themselves believe him guilty of the crimes with which they charged him." A bill of attainder was passed against him by the Commons, the Lords pronounced him guilty of, certain acts, and the judges were referred to to decide upon their nature and criminality. The bench replied, that his offences were not treasonable agreeably to the statute law, but that "the House alone was judge of the law of Parliament." On the 4th of January, 1645, Laud was pronounced guilty of treason by that body; and on the 10th he was executed on the scaffold on Tower-Hill. To the bigotry and Popish principles of that prelate may be attributed many of the early errors of the king, and the calamities which befell the nation. Although a patron of literature, he was, in the tenets of his religion, uncompromising and intolerant; in maintaining the powers and prerogatives of the hierarchy, persecuting and tyrannical—a Hildebrand in miniature.

Another but ineffectual effort was made, in January, 1645, to negotiate a peace, and commissioners of both parties convened at Uxbridge for the purpose of determining the extent of their respective demands. Parliament insisted upon the removal of the hierarchy, and the establishment of a form of Church government in accordance with that of Scotland. The king was unyielding in his attachment to Episcopacy, but consented to a reform of abuses, and to concede something to the scruples of tender consciences. He further agreed that "the bishops should exercise no act of jurisdiction or ordination, without the consent or counsel of such presbyters as should be chosen by the clergy of each diocese; that they should reside constantly in their diocese, and be bound to preach every Sunday; that pluralities be abolished; that abuses in ecclesiastical courts be redressed;*

* It is evident from the admissions here made, that the grievances so constantly and so justly complained of by the people under the Papal Hierarchy were now sufficiently numerous and oppressive to call for a radical reformation of the Episcopacy. Prelacy and Popery are allied, by a natural resemblance and affinity.

and that one hundred thousand pounds be levied on the bishops' estates and the chapter lands, for payment of debts contracted by the Parliament." As these concessions did not strike at the root of the evil, the system of Episcopacy itself, and there were other differences of a political nature, the negotiation was mutually abandoned, and the sword was again appealed to as the *ultima ratio* in the controversy.

On the 14th of June, 1645, was fought the decisive battle of Naseby. The royalists were completely defeated, and the last hopes of the king were now forever prostrated, not only by the discomfiture and dispersion of his army, but by the discovery of his secret intentions and ultimate designs, in the event of a final triumph over his enemies. These were now fully developed in his correspondence with the queen, and other important documents, found in his cabinet which was seized at Naseby. These communications were published to the nation by order of Parliament, and presented the character of Charles in a most unfavorable view. In the negotiations at Uxbridge he had acknowledged the two Houses at Westminster a free and constitutional Parliament, by calling them such. But in his letter to the queen, written soon after, he says, that he had done this with reluctance, and was induced by the argument which prevailed with him, that "*the calling* did noways acknowledge them to be a Parliament, upon which condition and construction I did it, and no other-ways." In another letter to the queen, he says: "Be confident that in making peace, I shall ever show my constancy in adhering to *bishops and all our friends*,"* and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual Parliament." Frequent allusions were made in his letters to a treaty with the Duke of Lorraine, the bitter enemy of the Huguenots, for ten thousand auxiliaries from France; and in one of his letters to the queen he says: "I give thee power to promise in my name, to whom thou thinkest most

* "The queen (who had fled to France) had written to him: 'Do not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need,' and 'if you do agree upon strictness against the Catholics, it would discourage them to serve you; and if afterward there should be no peace, you could never expect succors from Ireland, or any other Catholic princes, for they would believe you would abandon them after you have served yourself'—and 'Above all have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the *bishops as the poor Catholics*.'" (Keightley.)

fit, that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholics in England, as soon as God shall enable me to do it, so as by their means or in their favors I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favor, and enable me to do it."

The popular indignation was not long after increased by another secret plot of the king—to conclude a private treaty with the supreme council of the Irish at Kilkenny, through the mediation of Rinuccini, the Pope's nuncio; to whom, as well as to the reigning pontiff, Innocent X., letters were addressed by the monarch, and delivered to his especial commissioner, the Earl of Glamorgan. By this secret treaty, "the Catholics were to enjoy the public exercise of their religion, and all the churches and their revenues which were not actually in the possession of the Protestant clergy, who were, in turn, to supply the king with a body of ten thousand armed men, and devote two-thirds of the Church revenues to his service, during the war." This negotiation was detected, by the seizure of the papers, which were in the possession of the titular Archbishop of Tuam, and which contained a full development of the whole transaction. Although Charles disavowed the proceeding so far as it embraced a negotiation with the pontiff and the Papists, the authenticity of the documents fully convinced the public mind of the truth of the statements, and of his duplicity and intrigue. Thus was all confidence withdrawn from whatever professions he may afterward have made.

The issue of this contest between the Puritans and the monarch, sustained by the Papists and the English Hierarchy, forms a memorable period in the constitutional history of that nation. Charles, compelled by adverse circumstances, delivered himself to the Scots who were besieging Newark, on the 5th of May, 1646, and was by them surrendered for £400,000 to the commissioners of the Parliament. He was some time after conducted to Hampton Court, and there detained a prisoner. He escaped from his confinement and fled to the Isle of Wight, but was there secured in Carisbrook castle.

In the mean time Cromwell had acquired an ascendancy in the nation, and by the military forces controlled the proceedings of the Parliament. That body was now desirous of negotiating with the king, and articles of agreement had been drawn up, by

which he consented "to resign to Parliament the military power, the disposal of all the offices of state, and the right of creating peers &c., provided that after his demise, these prerogatives should revert to the crown.* Cromwell, however, arrested the progress of these proceedings. •

The Independents, who were more uncompromising than the Presbyterians, were averse to any reconciliation with the monarch and resolved upon his destruction. On the 6th of December, 1648, when the treaty would have been finally ratified, and the peace of the kingdom settled, forty-one members of the Presbyterian party were seized in the passage of the House, and conveyed from the halls.† Above one hundred and sixty of the other members were excluded: and about sixty remained, who were the partisans of Cromwell. These, sustained by the army, constituted the Parliament, and proceeded at once to rescind the previous measures of pacification. As the basis of their subsequent proceeding, they affirmed that "*the people are the origin of all just power*;" next, that "the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament being chosen by the people, and representing them, are the supreme authority of the nation; and that whatever is enacted and declared to be law by the Commons, hath the force of law, without consent of king or House of Peers." They declared it treason in the king to levy war against his Parliament.

On the 19th of January, 1649, Charles was brought to Whitehall to prepare for his trial, under an ordinance passed by the Commons alone, (the Peers having unanimously rejected it,) that he should be arraigned for having levied war against the Parliament and the people. A High Court of Justice was constituted; and in the name of the Commons of England he was before this tribunal accused of high treason and misdemeanors. On the 30th of January he was beheaded on a public scaffold, before the Palace of Whitehall.

The form of Church government established in England dif-

* The king had agreed to modify, in the first instance, the system of Episcopacy, during three years: but if after that time the Parliament demanded it, the Episcopal jurisdiction should be entirely abolished, and a new form of church government be established.

† "This invasion of the Parliament commonly passed under the name of *Coloured Puke's Purge*." (Hume.)

ferred in some respects from that of Scotland, although based upon the Presbyterian principle. By an ordinance of Parliament, in 1647, this system was organized. The court, consisting of a certain number of contiguous or neighboring parishes, was termed a *Classis*, which was analogous to the ecclesiastical body denominated in Scotland a *Presbytery*. The Provincial Assembly, entitled in Scotland a Synod, was composed entirely of clergymen, and the National Assembly, corresponding with the General Assembly of the Scottish Hierarchy, was constituted in the same manner. Laymen, it appears, were excluded from the Provincial and National Councils of the Church, from the apprehension that the admission into them of the nobility would attach to them a moral influence, and a grandeur in the eyes of the people, which might elevate them to a rank and power dangerous to the Parliament. Such was the state of the Church, and the condition of the country, when monarchy was abolished.

"The Presbyterians, or the moderate party among the Commons," says Hume, "found themselves considerably weakened by the death of the king; and the small remains of authority which still adhered to the House of Peers, were in a manner wholly extinguished." The late proceedings in the Parliament (in 1648) evinced a disposition on the part of the Presbyterians to abolish the prelacy in the Church, and to reduce the exorbitant powers of the crown: to new-model the one after the primitive apostolic forms of the first century, and to divest the other of those high prerogatives with which it had been endued by the assumptions and usurpations of the successive sovereigns of the Houses of Tudor and of Stuart. The subversion of the monarchy appears not to have been their ultimate object. The Independents were inimical to both systems, and would have introduced their pure republican principles into the State as well as into the Church. The head of this party was Oliver Cromwell, who, with admirable skill and extraordinary judgment in the conduct of his interests, directed its influence and power for his own attainment to sovereign authority.* In Scotland, however, the

* The government of Cromwell was strengthened by the *Fifth Monarchy Men*, who believed that his Protectorate was the commencement of a fifth monarchy, which should succeed that of the Assyrian, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman. This they maintained would be universal, and would continue a

the Presbyterians as they were there called, rejected every scheme of compromise with Charles but that founded on his unconditional subscription to the solemn league and covenant; while the majority of that party would have sustained the views of those in England.

The discussions in which I have alluded are clearly marked out by the measures which these several parties adopted in the progress of events. The Parliament of Scotland protested, through their commissioners in England, against the execution of the king: and immediately after his decapitation, that body proclaimed his son, Charles II., the rightful successor to the throne, annexing the condition, that "he would take the covenant and adhere to the solemn league between the two kingdoms." In furtherance of this object, commissioners were sent by the parliament in the year 1650, to communicate with the prince: and at Breda in Dutch Brabant, they submitted to him the terms of their acknowledgment: "that he should (among other requirements) bind himself by his royal promise, to take the covenant: that he should ratify all acts of Parliament by which Presbyterian government, the directory of worship, the confession of faith, and the catechism, were established: and that in civil affairs he should entirely conform himself to the direction of Parliament: and in ecclesiastical, to that of the Assembly." Charles though reluctantly, acceded to the conditions. He sailed soon after for Scotland, and arriving in the Firth of Forth, was required to affix his signature to the covenant before he was permitted to land.

Charles having thus thrown himself upon the clemency of his subjects and the late enemies of his father, seems to have rendered a ready compliance to all their demands. The nation, through the General Assembly, the committee of estates, and the army, made this general declaration: "That they did not espouse any malignant quarrel or party, but fought merely on their former grounds or principles: that they disclaimed all the sins and guilt of the king, and of his house: nor would they own him or his interest, otherwise than with a subordination to

thousand years, during which Christ would reign with the saints on earth. After the restoration of the Stuarts to the throne, they were suppressed, and disappeared from the page of history, as either a religious or political party.

l, and so far as he owned and prosecuted the cause of God, acknowledged the sins of his house and of his former ways." this public declaration, a response was made by Charles. e gave thanks," he said, "for the merciful dispensations of vidence, by which he was recovered from the snare of evil nsel, had attained a full persuasion of the righteousness of covenant, and was induced to cast himself and his interests olly upon God. He desired to be deeply humbled and af- ted in spirit, because of his father's following wicked mea- es, opposing the covenant and the work of Reformation, and dding the blood of God's people throughout all his dominions. lamented the idolatry of his mother, and the toleration of it is his father's house ; a matter of great offence, he said, to all Protestant churches, and a great provocation to Him, who jealous God, visiting the sins of the father upon the children. professed that he would have no enemies but the enemies of covenant ; and that he detested all Popery, superstition, lacy, heresy, schism, and profaneness ; and was resolved not olerate, much less to countenance, any of them in any of his inions. He declared that he should never love or favor se, who had so little conscience as to follow his interests, in ference to the Gospel and the kingdom of Jesus Christ. And xpressed his hope, that whatever ill success his former guilt ht have drawn upon his cause, yet now, having obtained cy to be on God's side, and to acknowledge his own cause ordinate to that of God, Divine Providence would crown his is with victory."

lotwithstanding these humble acknowledgments, he was re- ed to subscribe twelve articles of repentance, reiterating the larations already made, and containing a solemn assevera- , "that he sought the restoration of his rights, for the sole ancement of religion, and in subordination to the kingdom of ist."

but Charles was destined not to enjoy the fruits of these ocritical professions. The vigilance, activity and general- of Cromwell baffled his efforts and disappointed his san- ie expectations. The Scottish army was signally defeated, he 3d of September, in the battle of Dunbar. On the 1st of uary, 1651, he was solemnly crowned at Scone. "When ad sworn on his knees and with upraised hand to observe

the two covenants, to maintain Presbytery, govern according to the laws of God and the land, and root out false religion and heresy, the crown was placed on his head by the Marquis of Argyle, and nobility and people swore allegiance to him." On the 3d of September, (the anniversary of the English victory at Dunbar,) the whole Scottish army was killed or taken prisoners at Worcester. After many providential escapes, eluding the vigilance of his enemies by personating false characters and assuming disguises, he embarked at Shoreham, on the 16th of October, and arrived in safety at Fescamp, in Normandy. On the 19th of April, 1653, the Long Parliament was dissolved; and on the 16th of December following, Oliver Cromwell was installed into the office of Protector of the Commonwealth.

The Church, though nominally Presbyterian during the Protectorate, was never regularly so organized,* except in London and in Lancashire. Cromwell had embraced the principles of the Independents. The national Church establishment was modeled agreeably to a plan which he believed best calculated to subserve his own political interests. Commissioners, who were in part laymen, and in part ecclesiastics, some of them Independents, and others Presbyterians, were appointed, and invested with authority to present to all livings, which were formerly in the gift of the crown, to examine and admit to holy orders, and to inspect the lives, doctrine, and behavior of the clergy. These commissioners were entitled *tryers*; and in the examination of candidates, they regarded rather the manifestations of grace and evidences of spirituality, than their literary acquirements. (Hume.)

Oliver Cromwell died in 1658, and was succeeded in the Protectorate by his son Richard. He had neither the talents nor the ambition of his father. He soon betrayed a want of energy and of a capacity for government; and his administration was disturbed by intrigues and conspiracies against his authority. On the 22d of April, (1659) the Parliament which had been recently summoned by the new protector, was dissolved by him, in compliance with a demand from the council of officers. This act was considered as a virtual abandonment of his power; and

* Cromwell, in 1653, ordered the General Assembly, then convened, to be dismissed, and interdicted its meeting in future.

he voluntarily signed his own abdication a few days after. The royalists were solicitous of the restoration of the monarchy ; and the Presbyterians had always been opposed to the authorities in the State, after the expurgation of the Long Parliament by Col. Pride in 1648. These two parties united constituted the strength of the nation ; and an unexpected concurrence of circumstances now brought them into relations of identity of feeling and interests. After the demission of Richard Cromwell, the general council of the army invited the members of the Long Parliament, who had been permitted to retain their seats after the expulsion of the Presbyterians, and who continued sitting until the 19th of April, 1653, to return to Westminster and to resume their trust. About seventy members assembled, and formed what was in derision called the *Rump Parliament*. To effect the overthrow of this Parliament, the royalists and the Presbyterians agreed to compromise their ancient differences ; and this reconciliation conduced to the restoration of the monarchy.

Monk, who commanded the army in Scotland at this critical period, had determined to sustain the cause of the royalists ; but his designs were artfully concealed even from those in whose friendship and prudence he reposed with the most unbounded confidence. He advanced with his troops to London. The current of popular feeling was decidedly in favor of a regal government. The secluded members resumed their seats in Parliament. The Council of State which was appointed was composed of Presbyterians, who also held the most important offices both civil and military. Affairs were now approaching a crisis ; and the Long Parliament, having issued writs for a new election, finally terminated its own existence on the 16th of March, 1660.

“ The Presbyterians and the royalists,” says Hume, “ being united, formed the voice of the nation, which, without noise but with infinite ardor, called for the king’s restoration. The kingdom was almost entirely in the hands of the former party.” Sir Harbottle Grimstone, one of that party, was elected Speaker of the House of Commons, in the new Parliament which assembled on the 25th of April. The doors of the House of Peers were opened ; and the Lords, perceiving the direction of the general impulse, quietly resumed their seats. A confidential communi-

came from the king was delivered to General Monk, who sat in the Commons as the representative from Devon. The letter, sealed with the royal arms, contained overtures transmitted by Charles from Brech. The king made a promise of oblivion of all offences against the government, with a submission to the future judgment of the Parliament, and the right of conscience to all citizens, according to the provisions which may be made for its security by legislative enactments. The determination of all questions affecting the tenure of landed estates, and the settlement of all claims for military services, were to be referred by the crown to that body. The Presbyterians, however, renewed the demands of certain concessions which had been required of the late king: and insisted upon a more definite guaranty of the liberties of the subject. Sir Matthew Haile and other distinguished civilians and jurists advised the House to proceed with deliberation: and now that ample securities could be obtained for a just administration of the government, and an equitable adjustment be made of all conflicting claims, between the legislature and the executive, they proposed a final settlement of all differences, as well as of the principles of the constitution.

But deliberation and delay were not in accordance with the impetuous feeling which actuated the majority. The royalists were apprehensive that latent passions would be rekindled, the timid feared a recurrence to force, and the sanguine flattered themselves that all future difficulties would be removed by a general spirit of forbearance and conciliation. The Presbyterians were overruled, the last opportunity of settling permanently the forms of the government was lost, and the king was restored to the throne without any expressed limitations to his power. He was proclaimed with great solemnity on the 8th of May. Commissioners were immediately sent to invite him to the kingdom. On the 25th, he disembarked at Dover; and, on the 29th, amid the joyous acclamations of the people, he entered the capital.

The legislative body which had recalled the king, and was in existence when he ascended the throne, was declared to be a *Convention*, and not a *Parliament*, not having been summoned by the king, agreeably to ancient usage* and the established

* In strict technicality, there is not, and never has been, a constitution in

forms of the government before the revolution. It was therefore thought necessary, to endow it with an appropriate legislative character, to pass an especial act, declaring it to be in verity a Parliament—and it became so accordingly !

The Commons consisted for the most part of Presbyterians, who had not, as Hume remarks, entirely laid aside their old jealousies and principles. "Had the jealousy of royal power," says that historian, "prevailed so far with the *Convention Parliament* as to make them restore the king, with strict limitations, there is no question but the establishment of Presbyterian discipline had been one of the conditions most rigidly insisted on. Not only that form of ecclesiastical government is more favorable to liberty than to royal power ; it was likewise, on its own account, agreeable to the majority of the House of Commons, and suited their religious principles." No event interrupted the harmony between the sovereign and the Convention Parliament. The civil affairs of the country were the principal objects of legislation. The subject of religion, in reference to the livings or benefices, the ceremonies in public worship, the revision of the liturgy, &c., was transiently discussed ; but the permanent settlement of ecclesiastical questions was either reposed with the crown, or deferred for the deliberation of the next Parliament. At the expiration of two months from the commencement of the session, the king addressed the two Houses in a conciliatory tone ; and on the 29th of December the Parliament was dissolved. With these events terminated the year 1660.*

The true designs of the king were soon manifested by the conduct of his commissioner in Scotland, General Middleton, who attended the Parliament convened in that kingdom in January, 1661. The overtures of Breda were not considered as having embraced Scotland ; and the right was therefore exer-

England, or a system of fundamental principles established, which defines and limits the powers of the government.

* As the right of the crown vests *eo instanti*, on the death of the king, upon his heir—either the *hæres natus*, if the course of descent remains unimpeached, or the *hæres factus*, if the inheritance be under no particular settlement—there can be no *interregnum*. Hence the statutes passed in the first year after the restoration of Charles II. are always called the acts of the twelfth year of his reign. All legal proceedings of that reign date from the year 1648." (Blackstone.)

cised of new modelling the ecclesiastical system there without regard to the tender consciences of the Covenanters. The members who composed that body were chosen under the direct interference of the throne, and were obsequious instruments of the commissioner. The royal prerogative was immediately restored in all its ancient vigor, and a general act *rescissory* was also passed which annulled all the Parliaments which had convened subsequent to the year 1633; and prelacy was thus coercively re-established in Scotland.

The measures adopted in England to accomplish the same object were more moderate and cautious. Charles declared his intention to restrict the prelatical authority so far, that the rite of ordination should not be performed without the counsel and assistance of Presbyters chosen by the diocese. The nine bishops who were living were reinstated in their respective sees; and the Episcopal clergy who had been dispossessed of their livings were restored. The liturgy was again introduced into the public services, under the promise of its revision and amendment, that it might be rendered less objectionable to the Puritans, who viewed with abhorrence the surplice, and the ceremony of the cross in baptism and of bowing at the name of Jesus. It was moreover declared that this form of worship should not be coercive on those who might be conscientiously opposed to its observance. Such were the moderate and conditional innovations made by the king, as the head of the Church, when the new Parliament convened.

In the election of the members the royal influence interposed to secure a majority in favor of Episcopacy, and about sixty Presbyterians only were returned. That body assembled at Westminster on the 8th of May, 1661. It immediately proceeded to confirm the regal authority in all matters ecclesiastical as well as political. The restoration of the prelates to their temporal and spiritual prerogatives was one of the earliest acts of legislation; and by placing the sword unconditionally in the hands of the sovereign, it evinced a disposition to concede, in the fullest extent, both an enlarging and a restraining power in the crown, which could not thereafter with safety be disputed. It enjoined, as an indispensable qualification to a seat in the House, the reception of the sacrament agreeably to the forms prescribed by the Church of England. Indeed the Commons

were more zealous in defending the sanctity of the throne than the peers themselves. It should be remarked, however, that jealousies and apprehensions were not long after entertained by them in consequence of the king's declaration of an intention to extend liberty of conscience to all religionists, "who, through scruple and tenderness of misguided conscience, but modestly and without scandal, perform their devotions in their own way." The secret treaty with France at Versailles in 1669, "by which Charles would receive two hundred thousand pounds a-year, in quarterly payments, for settling the Catholic religion in England,* and when that work was finished, England was to join France in making war upon Holland," strengthened their feelings of alarm. A general apprehension pervaded the country when the Duke of York, the heir apparent to the throne, made an open avowal of the Popish religion; and the nation was thrown into a ferment, when, following these events, developments were made of a conspiracy of the Papists. Under these united influences, that refractory and insubordinate temper which had distinguished the recent Long Parliament, was strongly and openly evinced by this body before its final dissolution by the king in 1679.

A conference was held at the Savoy, between twelve prelates and an equal number of Presbyterian divines, having for its object an amendment of the liturgy. The latter urged their objections to certain rites, which they condemned as Popish and superstitious; but so tenacious were the bishops of their established forms, that so far from making concessions they retained even the innovations introduced by Laud; "and they remain, to this day, part of the service of the Church of England." (Keightley.)

While the discussion on the mere ceremonies of the Church was maintained with equal warmth and obstinacy by the parties in the conference, Parliament was employed in strengthening the foundations of Episcopacy. "Monarchy and Prelacy," says Hume, "were exalted to as great power and splendor, as they had lately suffered misery and depression." Not only the members were required to receive the sacrament, but it was further enacted, "that any person holding office in a corpora-

* "The king was so zealous a Papist, that he wept for joy, when he saw the prospect of re-uniting his kingdom to the Catholic Church." (Hume.)

tion might be removed, unless he would renounce the solemn league and covenant, (which was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman,) and also declare his belief of the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the king;" and, "that no future officer shall be admitted unless he had previously taken the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England."

To settle permanently the controversies on the subject of the liturgy, the Book of Common Prayer was submitted to the convocation; and the whole liturgy was digested and modelled as it now stands. On the 20th of December, 1661, it was unanimously subscribed by both houses of convocation of both provinces. In the month of March following, it was confirmed and established by law; and the Earl of Clarendon, then high chancellor of England, was directed by Parliament, "to return the thanks of the Lords to the bishops and clergy of both provinces, for the great care and industry shown in the service of it."*

In the year 1662 the memorable *Act of Uniformity* was passed; and its operation was postponed to the 24th of August, or the day of the feast of St. Bartholomew; a day renowned in the Protestant annals in France. On that eventful day, agreeably to the provisions of the Act, "every clergyman who had not been Episcopally ordained, and had not also declared his assent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and had omitted to take the oath of canonical obedience, to abjure the solemn league and covenant, and to renounce the principle of taking arms, on any pretence whatever, against the king, was ejected from his living, and virtually excommunicated from the Church." On the appointed day, about two thousand ministers relinquished their preferments. This act has been justified on the principle of retaliation. "Instead of enlarging the terms of communion, in order to comprehend the Presbyterians,"† says Hume, "they (the Episcopal

* "Will it be believed," says Keightley, "that they actually increased the number of the saints' days, and added the silly legend of Bel and the Dragon, and other parts of the Apocrypha, to the lessons? They surely meant to insult, not to conciliate."

† The historian here quoted, referring in a note to "Walker's History of Independency," remarks: "Hollis gives the same representation as Walker, of the plundering, oppressions, and tyranny of the Parliament (in 1647); only, instead of laying the fault on both parties, as Walker does, he ascribes it solely

party) gladly laid hold of the prejudices which prevailed among that sect, in order to eject them from their livings." This severity against those who had resisted the execution of Charles I., and who cordially united in calling Charles II. to the throne, but under prescribed and established limitations to his prerogatives, was an act of ingratitude on the part of the Episcopalians who had obtained the ascendancy through their co-operation. As a retaliatory measure against the Independents, the ejectment manifested an undue spirit of revenge. In this instance, there was no reservation of a fifth of the income of the benefices for those who scrupled to comply with the rigid requirements of this act of uniformity, as there had been in the former. This act was passed in a state of peace, when all parties had laid down their arms. When the Episcopal clergy were divested, the kingdom was convulsed by a civil war, and the issue was decided by the triumph of arms. The ejected monks were not so inhumanly treated by Henry VIII. ; and Elizabeth was more lenient to the religious dissenters who incurred the penalties of her act of uniformity. The nonconformists were not only entirely deprived of their future income, but by a retrospective operation of the law they lost the last year's income of their livings, as their tithes would not fall due before Michaelmas, which was a period subsequent to their ejectment.

The Presbyterians, it is true, had concurred with the royal interests in restoring the monarchy ; but, at the same time, the Papists had suffered equally with the Episcopalians under the oppressive measures of the Puritans ; and the favor which they received at court, from the Popish predilections of the king,* enabled them to exercise an influence which was directed with an envenomed hatred against the Presbyterians, their ancient and constant enemies. While they urged the bigoted monarch, on the one hand, to pursue his measures to an extremity against those nonconformists, they had the address to encourage the

to the Independents. The Presbyterians, indeed, being commonly denominated the modern party, would probably be more inoffensive." Hume was never a *swift witness* to exculpate the Presbyterians.

* The Episcopalians who fled to the continent after the decapitation of Charles I., generally became Papists. Charles II. and James II. returned to England more bigoted in the faith.

ejected ministers to persevere in their refusal to comply with the requirements of the act, by holding out to them the expectation that the king would eventually protect them in their refusal. Such were the intrigues of the Popish party around the throne.

The Presbyterians were made fully sensible of the fallacy of whatever hopes they may have entertained of the royal sympathy, or of a relaxation of the severities of the act by the Episcopal party. In May, 1664, the *Conventicle Act* was passed, which declared "that any person above the age of sixteen, who might be present at any religious meeting not held according to the practice of the Church of England, where there were five or more persons besides the household, shall be imprisoned three months for the first offence, six for the second, and be transported seven years for the third, on conviction before a single justice of the peace."

The convocation of the Church, it will have been perceived, possessed no concurrent voice in legislation with the Parliament, nor were any of its acts obligatory until confirmed by that body. Their power, in fact, extended not beyond that of imposing taxes upon the clergy. Even this it now relinquished voluntarily to the Commons, and conceded to that branch of the Parliament the right "to lay impositions on ecclesiastical revenues, as on the rest of the kingdom." "In recompense," says Hume, "two subsidies, which the convocation had formerly granted, were remitted, and the parochial clergy were allowed to vote at elections. Thus the Church made a barter of power for profit." This ecclesiastical body became of little historical importance from this period, except in the reigns of William and of Anne, when the efforts of the High-Church party to revive its ancient privileges imparted to it a factitious distinction. As an ecclesiastical tribunal it now enjoys but a nominal existence.

The restrictive and persecuting measures against the non-conformists were, from time to time, urged to such extremities, that we can scarcely account for the passive temper with which they were endured from any principle in our nature except that of a servile spirit of submission. Nor should we have been less embarrassed in determining the motives which could have actuated to so rigid a system of oppression, but for the fact recorded

in the "Life of James II.," "that the rigorous Church of England men were let loose and encouraged underhand to persecute, that the nonconformists might be more sensible of the ease they should have when the Catholics prevailed." This was the policy of the court under the influence of Popish priests; and, unfortunately, the Commons, composed of loyal Episcopalians, too readily co-operated with the Papists in the degradation and oppression of their fellow-Protestants.

In October, 1665, the *Five Mile Act* was passed, by which "no dissenting teacher (who had not subscribed the Act of Uniformity) should, except upon the road, approach within five miles of any corporation, or of any place, where he had preached or exercised the functions of a minister, under a penalty of six month's imprisonment, and a fine of fifty pounds." During the prevalence of the plague the ejected clergy had violated the prohibitory acts by preaching to the people, overwhelmed, as the whole nation must have been, by the afflicting visitations of Divine Providence. This inhuman act was extended even to those who had thus ministered to their fellow-citizens under this great and awful calamity, and deprived them of their only means of subsistence.

Similar severities were exercised against the dissenters in Scotland. That kingdom was excluded from the conditions inserted in the overtures of Charles at Breda. We have seen how little the nonconformists in England were benefitted by the stipulations of the restoration. Scotland, therefore, first felt the relentless arm of the oppressor. Episcopacy was there re-established in its full vigor in the year 1662. It was enacted by Parliament that all ministers who had been elected by the Kirk session should be re-invested in their respective cures by the bishops. This requirement was not complied with, "and three hundred and fifty parishes—above a third of the kingdom—were at once declared vacant." (Hume.) The ministers, with their families, were turned out, and their deprivations were aggravated by their annual salaries, not yet due, having been withheld from them. The congregations continued to assemble in *conventicles*, in open fields, under the ministry of their former pastors—"a set of ignorant, vicious *curates* having been sent from the North to occupy their pulpits." These meetings were prohibited by an act which

extended the justice twenty miles beyond their respective parishes, and imposed severe penalties on those who contributed to their support and the maintenance of their families. The Scottish Parliament passed a law similar to that against conventicles in England, and instituted a High Commission Court, appointed by the Privy Council, for the strict and rigid enforcement of the law. Atrocities were daily made by this arbitrary ecclesiastical tribunal, and the jails were filled. Many fled from the persecution and retired in France. The discontent prevailed more particularly in the West of Scotland: in the North, there was a general submission to the jurisdiction of the bishops.

In the year 1563, the government undertook to enforce the laws against idolatry by a military force. The curates were active in collecting testimony against the suspected. The deserted churches were converted into barracks. Convictions instantly led to imprisonment, even without a shadow of evidence. Arbitrary and exorbitant fines were imposed, and soldiers were quartered on delinquents until the imposition was discharged. No restraint was laid upon the cruelties and ferocity of the soldiers who were entrusted with the command of the armies: and the Scots were made to feel in all its rigor the system of the *dragonnade*, which Charles had doubtless resorted to in making of his country in France. The historical reader will be aware that at this very period a most cruel and vindictive persecution was carried on by Louis XIV. against the Huguenots. Episcopacy was now making a desperate effort, in England and in France, for the extirpation of heresy and the overthrow of the Protestant religion: and Charles was a willing instrument to subscribe the designs of the bigoted monarch of France, and of his Holiness in Rome.

"Numbers of the gentry, as well as peasantry, fled from their habitations, and took shelter in the mountains and moors." "An indigent old man being unable to pay the fines imposed on him, was bound and laid on the ground to be conveyed to prison." The populace, indignant at the cruelties, rose in arms against his captors, and released him. Two thousand men in arms advanced toward Edinburgh, but they were defeated by the royal forces at the Pentlands hills. Twenty of the captives were executed in Edinburgh, and thirty-five were hung at their own doors.

In 1668, an effort was made to introduce a plan by which the religious differences which disturbed the peace of the nation might be compromised. This seems to have originated with the court. But the suspicions entertained of the religious principles of the king—suspicions indeed well founded—defeated the design. “It was proposed to reconcile the Presbyterians by a comprehension, and to grant a toleration to the Independents and *other sectaries*.” A similar attempt had been made in 1661, on the supposition, that “the Prelatists and the Presbyterians were mutually disposed toward an amicable agreement;” and that by concessions, on the part of the bishops, of themselves unimportant—such as relinquishing some part of their authority, and dispensing with the most exceptionable ceremonies—“a thorough union between those two parties, which comprehended the bulk of the nation, might be produced.” By the prelatical party it was urged, “that if such concessions should prove ineffectual, greater would be demanded, and if acceded to, discipline would, in the issue, be despoiled of all its authority, and worship of all its decency, without obtaining that end which had been so fondly sought for, by these dangerous indulgences.” It was evident then, as it has been since, that a reconciliation between the parties must ever continue to be entirely impracticable. Except in the Confessions of Faith of those two Churches, there is no common ground between them.

The result of this attempt to restore harmony was, an address from the Commons, calling upon the king for a proclamation against conventicles; and their request was immediately complied with. Parliament soon after (1670) enacted another law auxiliary to the provisions already made for restraining the exercise of public worship, and to increase the penalties for non-conformity. It declared that “the *hearer* in a conventicle (that is, in a dissenting assembly, where more than five persons were present besides the family) should be fined five shillings for the first offence, ten for the second; and that the *preacher* should be fined twenty pounds for the first offence, and forty for the second; and, furthermore, that the latter penalties shall attach to the owner of the house in which the conventicle was held.” Although this act appeared to have been a mitigation of the several acts which had preceded it, the explanatory clause which was appended to it gave to it an increased severity in its

operation. It provided, "that all clauses in the act shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof." "The vile crew of informers was now unkennelled, houses were broken open, ministers and other persons were dragged to prison. Sheldon and other prelates, such as Ward and Lamplugh, were zealous in causing the act to be enforced, and the court secretly encouraged them, in the hopes of driving the dissenters to look to a Catholic government for relief." Thus were successive measures adopted, all of them having for their determinate object, the entire supremacy in the two kingdoms of the Church of England as by law established. In the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, the political course of the king was directed by the constant but secret wish to introduce the Popish religion into his dominions. With this view he was extremely desirous of extending to all the sectaries a liberality of conscience, and professed himself the advocate of toleration.

Charles was apprehensive, in the beginning of his reign, that the exercise of the dispensing power would excite the alarm of the nation, and he therefore, in 1662, intimated in his declaration of indulgence, "that he should make it his special care, so far as in him lay, without invading the freedom of Parliament, to incline their wisdom, next approaching sessions, to concur with him in making some such act for that purpose," (removing the penalties for nonconformity,) "as may enable him to exercise, with a more universal satisfaction, that power of dispensing which he conceived to be inherent in him." By virtue of this prerogative, he issued a proclamation in 1672, "suspending the penal laws enacted against all nonconformists, or *recusants* whatsoever; and granting to the Protestant dissenters the public exercise of their religion—to the Catholics, the exercise of it in private houses."* Although this act of the king was acceptable to the dissenters generally, it was repudiated by the rigid Covenanters, as subversive of the national covenants to which

* The manuscript of James II., quoted by Hume, remarks, in reference to the treaty with Louis XIV., in 1669: "The intention of the king and duke was, chiefly, to change the religion of England, which they deemed an easy undertaking, because of the great propensity, as they imagined, of the cavaliers and Church-party to Popery." (Hume.)

they had sworn, and of Presbytery itself, which acknowledged no head but Christ. It was, moreover, highly offensive to the House of Commons, which declared "that penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by act of Parliament." In the following year, the king yielded to the popular clamor, and recalled the declaration of indulgence.

It was on this occasion that those Scottish Presbyterians who denied the right of the king to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs, withdrew from the great body of dissenters, and were distinguished by the name of *Cameronians*, from their leader, the Rev. Richard Cameron. In 1681, they were called *The Societies united in correspondence*. They were persecuted with relentless severity in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. Renwick, one of their leaders, and who in 1687 drew up their "*Informatory Vindication*," was martyred in 1688. In the revolution which dethroned James, they espoused the cause of William, Prince of Orange. From the accession of William, they became an obscure sect, being few in numbers. In 1743, they re-organized under the direction of the Rev. M. McMillan, when they "formed and established a presbytery in the name of Christ, the alone king and head of the Church, under the title of the *Reformed Presbytery*." The Cameronians denounced all civil rulers but those who subscribed the Covenant. They maintained the right of the civil magistrate to suppress error, and to encourage the true religion. These opinions they now renounce. They have adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith, and the formulas of the Scottish Church. They have adopted the Calvinistic creed in its most rigid construction, &c.; and "they now form a most unobtrusive, respectable, and exemplary sect of Christians."

Notwithstanding the king had receded, and, with his own hands, had broken the seal of his proclamation of indulgence, the Commons resolved to throw around the constitution such safeguards against the principles of Popery as the exigency of the occasion imperatively called for; and a law was passed (1673) having for its object the exclusion of Papists from offices of power and trust. In addition to the customary oath of allegiance and supremacy, and receiving the sacrament agreeably to the rites of the Church of England, it required an abjuration

of the doctrine of Transubstantiation.* The Duke of York immediately threw up his commissions, and his example was followed by other noblemen, who had not before avowed publicly their religious opinions.

This act excluded dissenters, but it received their hearty concurrence, from their uncompromising hostility to Popery. As they had also sustained the Commons in their opposition to the king's declaration of indulgence, an effort was made in the House to extend some protection to their religious privileges; but the design was frustrated by the spiritual and temporal lords, whose predilections were too strongly biassed in favor of the Romish ceremonies. In the beginning of the year 1674, the subject was renewed under a higher state of excitement. The Commons declared the nation to be in a calamitous condition; called upon the king to proclaim a general fast, "that Heaven might be implored to preserve the Church and State against the undermining practices of Popish recusants;" and at length voted the removal from office "of persons Popishly inclined, or otherwise obnoxious or dangerous." The increasing apprehensions of the ultimate designs of the king, and of the dangerous influence of Popery, occasioned, not only jealousies of the royal prerogatives, but a misunderstanding between the two Houses, which interrupted the progress of public legislation, and obstructed the passage of such laws as would have been beneficial to the nation. The distinction of *court* and *country* party, which was more definitely and more permanently marked soon after by that of *Tory* and *Whig*, was already clearly drawn between the advocates of passive obedience and the defenders of civil and religious liberty. The nonconformists, however, were little benefited by controversies in which their own peculiar privileges were involved.†

The defeat of the Scottish insurgents at the Pentland hills, in

* This doctrine, although not made an article of faith before the 13th century, became the chief corner-stone in the Popish Church. The Papacy rests its strength upon this creed, as Protestantism does upon that of justification by faith.

† "In 1677, the old law for burning heretics was repealed; a prudent measure, while the nation was in continual dread of the return of Popery." (Hume.)

the year 1666, did not restore order in that portion of the kingdom, and Charles was persuaded to resort to more conciliatory measures to compose the religious differences. The uncompromising opposition which the Covenanters cherished even to the title of prelate, presented an obstacle to the success of any plan which countenanced that distinction. When, therefore, it was proposed to establish that order, but to invest it with an authority simply of precedency among the presbyters, constituting the bishops, as in the second century, Episcopal Presbyters, (or *primi inter pares*,) it was resisted as a dangerous innovation. It was recollected, that, under this apparently innocent innovation in the primitive apostolic church, the lofty title of bishop began to raise itself above the humble appellation of presbyter, and that by this insidious change James I. endeavored to introduce into Scotland the government and rites of the Church of England. "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing," was reiterated from the pulpits.

Another effort was made to reconcile that party by settling their most popular and influential preachers (who had been ejected) in the vacant parishes, without any conditions annexed of conformity with the rites of the Established Church, and giving to others of less repute a moderate salary, as a donative for their silence. These last peremptorily refused the bribe. Many of the former accepted the gift, and were entitled, in derision, *the king's curates*. They too eventually relinquished their appointments, and the people generally resumed openly their forms of worship, assembled in conventicles, and with arms in their hands seemed to set the authorities at defiance. The project of *indulgence* was, therefore, not more successful than the scheme of *comprehension*.

Such was the position of the Covenanters in Scotland, when a Parliament convened in Edinburg on the 19th of October, 1669. "The zealous Presbyterians," says Hume, "who were the chief patrons of liberty, were too obnoxious to resist, with any success, the measures of government; and in Parliament, the tide still ran strongly in favor of monarchy." An act was passed, which acknowledged an unqualified authority in the king, as head of the Church, to order and control in all matters ecclesiastical, and declared that his directions transmitted to the Privy

Council should have the force of law. Another act virtually confided to the king the command of a well-organized militia of twenty-two thousand men ; and thus were conceded to him the right to new-model the rites and government of the Church, and the power to compel by military force a compliance with whatever forms of religious worship he might enjoin.

In the following year severe and sanguinary enactments were made for the suppression of conventicles ; and the penalties annexed to their violation were, unreasonable fines, and, under peculiar circumstances, not less than death and the confiscation of the property of the convicted. Inducements of high pecuniary rewards were held out to informers, and they were protected by law from the consequences of any personal violence which might be inflicted in prosecuting their inquiries, and in arresting the suspected. The Privy Council became a tribunal of inquisition ; and the history of their proceedings has recorded, the forcible and unjust seizure of property, arbitrary confiscations, cruel imprisonments, and blood-thirsty executions. The acts of this High Commission Court, under the administration of Lauderdale, rival in atrocity and tyranny the dark and bloody deeds of the Holy Office in the most gloomy days of Popish bigotry and persecution. When the king was informed of the severities exercised by his commissioner, he coolly remarked : " I perceive that Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things against the people of Scotland, but I cannot find that he has acted any thing contrary to my interest." The conduct of Charles in the treatment of the Covenanters in Scotland unfolded the true principles and feelings by which he was actuated in his former measures of religious indulgence.

The vindictive persecution of the nonconformists in Scotland, as well as the arbitrary exercise of the regal power, awakened the fears of the ardent defenders of civil and religious liberty. Charles had now become a mere pensioner of the King of France. It was manifest that a league had been formed between the two sovereigns for the re-establishment of Popery in the British dominions. At this crisis important developments were made, which, although rendered doubtful by the incoherent testimony of Oates, were sufficiently established by other undoubted evidences to impress upon the public mind the strong conviction, that " there was really and truly a Popish plot in being, alert

and effective, in direct operation against the established Protestant religion in England. In this plot, the king, the Duke of York, and the King of France, were chief conspirators; the Romish priests, and especially the Jesuits, were eager co-operators." (Hallam.) In October, 1678, a bill was introduced in the Commons for a test which would exclude the Papists, by the declaration it contained, that Popery is idolatry. In the House of Peers it was amended, with the view of exempting the Duke of York from the necessity of taking the oath; but he was compelled, by the force of public opinion, to resign his seat at the council-board. Twenty of the peers were excluded from the House." "The utmost rage had been discovered by the Commons, on account of the Popish plot; and their fury began already to point against the royal family, if not against the throne itself." The king, apprehensive of danger from the increasing agitation, dissolved the Parliament in January, 1679.

The new Parliament, however, was not less vigilant in providing safeguards against the encroachments of the Papal power; and as the country party succeeded in obtaining a full representation in the Commons, a plan was introduced for limiting the royal prerogative in the event of a Popish succession to the throne. This provision was evidently designed to avert the mischiefs which were apprehended from the expected accession of the Duke of York. This precautionary measure was not received with favor, and a *bill of exclusion* was accordingly adopted, which declared, "that the sovereignty of these kingdoms, upon the king's death or resignation, should devolve to the person next in succession after the duke; that all acts of royalty, which that prince should afterward perform, should not only be void, but be deemed treason; that, if he so much as entered any of these dominions, he should be deemed guilty of the same offence; and that all who supported his title should be punished as rebels and traitors." The bill was rejected in the House of Peers by a large majority. "All the bishops, except three, voted against it. Besides the influence of the court over them, the Church of England, they imagined or pretended, was in greater danger from the prevalence of Presbyterianism than of Popery; which, though favored by the duke, and even by the

king, was extremely repugnant to the genius of the nation."* (Hume.)

In May, 1679, Sharpe, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who had apostatized from the Presbyterian party in 1661, and afterward promoted by the king to the primacy of Scotland, was murdered on Magus moor by John Balfour at the head of a few Covenanters. Sharpe had not only been a traitor to those who entrusted him with a commission to manage their interests with the king, but he had persecuted them with the utmost severity and with an unrelenting and a vindictive spirit. He was the counterpart of Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury; equally destitute of spiritual religion; and, like him, a bigot in his creed, and a tyrant in his administration. The assassination of this prelate was followed by acts of open violence. The several acts of the council and of the Parliament against conventicles were publicly committed to the flames; and at Rutherglen, near Glasgow, the Covenanters published a declaration against Episcopacy. They proceeded to Glasgow, took forcible possession of the city, and raised the standard of opposition to the royal supremacy, to prelacy, and to Popery. The Duke of Monmouth was sent with an army to suppress the insurrection; and in June, the Covenanters were signally defeated in the battle of Bothwell bridge, on the Clyde.

The general dissatisfaction which now prevailed was expressed by numerous *petitions* to the throne for a redress of grievances. These were answered by the court party, who declared their *abhorrence* of the conduct of those who undertook to prescribe to the king in his administration of the government. Hence arose the distinction of *Petitioners* and *Abhorrrers*—the former intended as a designation of the *country*, and the latter of the *court party*. In the year 1680, the petitioners received from their opponents the appellation of *Whigs*; a term applied, in 1648, to the Scottish Covenanters, who, after the defeat of

* By this Parliament was passed the memorable *Habeas Corpus Act*—Stat. 31 Ch. II. c. 2. The granting of a writ of *habeas corpus* was made imperative on the judges, except when the party is charged with the crime of treason or felony, &c. By stat. 1 Wm. & M. 2, 2, it is declared that excessive bail ought not to be required. The statute of Charles II. was further amended and enforced by 56 Geo. III. c. 100.

Hamilton at Preston, marched to Edinburg under a high excitement of religious frenzy.* All who opposed the court were afterward called, in contempt, *Whigs*; and the title became attached to the country party in England. On the other hand, the Abhorrrers, or the court party, were denominated *Tories*; from the Irish insurgents who, in 1640, were implicated in the Popish massacre of the English Protestants, and were distinguished by that appellation. This title has very recently been substituted by that of *Conservatives*. The High-Churchmen supported the principles of the Tory party, which were in accordance with their exalted notions of the hierarchy.

In 1682, the administration of the government in Scotland was committed to the Duke of York, and was particularly distinguished by the severities exercised toward the dissenters. The Cameronians were the marked objects of his vengeance. The cruelty of his temper has been noticed by Hume, the constant apologist of the Stuarts, who states that "he sometimes assisted at the torture of criminals, and looked on with tranquillity, as if he were considering some curious experiment. Charles II. died on the 6th of February, 1685, having previously received the extreme unction from a Popish priest, and the consecrated host, agreeably to the rites of the Romish Church. He was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of York.

The right of James II. to the throne of his ancestors was disputed soon after his accession by the Duke of Monmouth, the natural son of Charles. This feeble aspirant to the crown was cordially received by those who had felt the severities of religious persecution. He landed at Lyme Regis, in Dorsetshire, and announced himself "the head of the Protestant forces, assembled to restore liberty to the people of God, for the worship of God, and to preserve the rights and privileges of the nation." There the nonconformists had been driven from their churches to conventicles in the open fields. Their chapels had been demolished, their religious privileges invaded; and they rallied under the standard of the Pretender as the guardian of their

* The peasants in the west of Scotland incited their horses by crying out *Whiggam*, or *Get on*. They were thence called Whiggamores, and by contraction Whiggs. The advance of the Covenanters to Edinburg was called the "Whiggamores' inroad." The title of *Whig* has been consecrated by the patriots of the American Revolution.

rights. In Somerset the penalties for nonconformity had been inflicted with relentless severity, and his arrival was greeted with an undissembled enthusiasm. His career was soon arrested by the royal troops; and at Penzoy Pound, near Weston, his army was vanquished and dispersed, and he fell a victim to an ill-timed and unskillfully-conducted enterprise, under the axe of the executioner.

The cold-blooded murders which were committed by the soldiery under the command of Feversham, and his successor Kirke, were not less atrocious and cruel than the judicial executions under the judgments of Jeffreys and his associates in commission. The progress of these instruments of an unfeeling and vindictive monarch was marked by the blood of their helpless and unresisting victims. The declaration of the chief-justice in his expiring moments, that in the discharge of his official duties he had done nothing without orders, and had not been half bloody enough for him that sent him, must irrevocably attach to the king the character of an inexorable and a blood-thirsty tyrant.

The re-establishment of Popery within his dominions was the cherished object of his aspirations; and in the accomplishment of this end he disregarded those constitutional guaranties which had been provided for securing the civil liberty of his subjects, and which he had solemnly sworn to maintain. He submitted implicitly to the counsels of the Jesuits;* he publicly attended mass in the queen's chapel; he discharged from imprisonment, by proclamation, all recusants; by virtue of his dispensing power, he virtually abolished the test, by appointing officers under the crown who were not required to take the oath of qualification, and procured a judgment of the bench confirming this exercise of power, by deposing those judges who were refractory, and substituting others obsequious to his will; he publicly expressed his aversion to the *Habeas Corpus* act, which, he said, was subversive of the government; he re-established the ecclesiastical Court of High Commission, which had been abolished in 1641,

* In his coronation oath he swore "to maintain the true profession of the Gospel, and the rights and privileges of the Church and clergy;" but in the true spirit of Jesuitical casuistry, he declared afterward "that he had sworn, *in pectore*, to maintain those rights and privileges which had been granted by King Edward, the Confessor"—a confirmed Papist.

on account of its tyranny and oppression, and issued a commission to certain prelates, who were thereby invested with full and unlimited authority over the Church as by law established; he suspended all the penal statutes against nonconformity, declaring that "he never would use force or invincible necessity against any man on account of his persuasion, or the Protestant religion;" and that "he had thought fit, by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, which all his subjects were to obey without reserve, to grant this royal toleration;" he prohibited all animadversions in the pulpits on the Popish religion, and when this injunction was disregarded, he interposed the authority of the High Commission Court, and by this tribunal Compton, the Bishop of London, was arraigned for contumacy and disobedience,* and suspended from his episcopal functions; he encouraged the Popish institutions, and under his patronage convents of the Carmelites, the Franciscans and the Benedictines were established in the capital, and a school under the direction of the Jesuits was opened at the Savoy; he dismissed from offices those of the Protestant persuasion, and substituted Papists in their places; he elevated his confessor, Father Petre, to a seat among the Privy Councillors, and would have obtained for him a cardinal's hat, had not the reigning pontiff, Innocent XI., in his sagacity and discretion, refused the application; he had four Popish bishops publicly consecrated in his chapel, and sent out as vicars apostolical to exercise episcopal functions in their respective dioceses; and, in addition to these and other acts of indiscretion and folly, he solicited the purple for the queen's uncle, and the mission of a Papal Nuncio to the court of St. James—which latter request was complied with; and to reciprocate the favor, he sent the Earl of Castlemain to Rome, as a resident minister at the Papal court. James having flattered himself that his designs were already accomplished, remarked, in a spirit of exultation, "that God had permitted all the laws made to establish Protestantism to serve as a foundation for his measures to re-establish the true religion."

So zealous and so sincere was this bigoted monarch in the

* Compton offended the king by refusing to obey an order from the court requiring him to suspend Dr. Sharpe, a clergyman of London, who had declaimed against Popery, and against those who had apostatized from the Protestant faith.

profession of the Popish faith, that he entertained scruples in giving his assent to the laws which might be proposed for the greater security of the Church of England. He seems, therefore, not to have been deeply versed in the casuistry of the Jesuits. Four of his Popish divines, not better instructed than the monarch in the moral code of Loyola, declared that such assent ought not to be given. Louis XIV., and his Jesuit bishop, Bossuet, better understood the subtle diplomacy of Rome. It had long been a settled principle in the Papal chancery, that "An oath obliges not beyond the *intention* of him who takes it; and that, "for the propagating of the Mother Church's interest, a Papist may assume any religion heretical." The King of France, when consulted by James, removed the difficulties, by stating to him, that "as the exercise of the Popish religion could not be re-established in England, save by removing from the people the impression that the king was resolved to make it triumph, he must dissuade him from saying or doing any thing which might authorize or augment this fear." The Bishop of Meaux said, that the conscience of a monarch is not interested in concessions made, ostensibly, to preserve public tranquillity. "The Papists of England ought to consider," he further remarks in his reply to James, "the state in which they are, and the small portion they form of the population of that kingdom, which obliges them not to ask what is impossible of their king; but, on the contrary, to sacrifice all the advantages with which they might idly flatter themselves, to the real and solid good of having a king of their religion, and securing his family on the throne, though Papal; which may lead them naturally to expect, in time, the entire establishment of their Church and faith."* (J. B. White.)

The king, resolved to urge on his measures for the restoration of Popery, on the 25th of April, 1688, republished his declaration of indulgence, which granted toleration to sectaries, and suspended all laws against the Papists; and by the advice of Petre, issued an order of Council, "that it should be read out in all the churches, during the time of divine service; and that the bishops should distribute it for that purpose." The bishops de-

* "I nevertheless," concluded the bishop, "submit, with all my heart, to the supreme decision of his Holiness." Such is the mental bondage of Popery!

liberated on the question of compliance, and finally determined to present a petition on the subject. Of ten thousand clergymen, two hundred obeyed the order of the king. The celebrated Richard Baxter, a nonconformist, who had been cruelly persecuted by the established Church, applauded the bishops from his pulpit. The cause was every where viewed as involving the existence of Protestantism within the British dominions. The prelates were summoned before the Privy Council; and refusing to enter into recognizances to appear at Westminster Hall, they were committed to the Tower, on the 8th of June. On the 29th they were arraigned, tried, and acquitted. The popular current now ran strongly against the king. William, Prince of Orange, who had married Mary, the eldest daughter of James, was invited to England; and on the 5th of November he landed at Torbay, in Devon, with an army of 14,000 men.* On the 24th of December, James, having been deserted by his subjects, embarked in a coasting-vessel, and on the following day landed at Ambleteuse, in Picardy. William and Mary succeeded to the throne.

The accession of William formed a memorable epoch in the ecclesiastical history of Great Britain. By the Act of Uniformity, passed in the year 1662, the validity of Presbyterian ordination was renounced; the ministry in the foreign Protestant churches was no longer considered scriptural and of any validity; and it was, in effect, declared that all institutions of religious worship not based upon the system of Diocesan Episcopacy were destitute of divine authority, and not entitled to the character and appellation of Christian churches. This invidious distinction was the result of Parliamentary enactments; and that legislative power which had created the Church of England, "laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form," as seemed best calculated to secure its permanency and strength, assumed and exercised the authority of divesting all others of their apostolic and spiritual character. With the 17th century the reign of religious intolerance and of sectarian bigotry ceased; and so far as the strongest legislative sanctions could secure the nation from the influences of Popery,

* Eight hundred French refugees accompanied the expedition of William.

civil and religious liberty was permanently protected by the statutes of the realm.

The revolution subverted the ancient rule of descent, and with it the principle of hereditary, indefeasible right; for the succession of the crown was now, by a title, founded upon a contract between the actual reigning sovereign and the people. Whereas Mary and her issue, Anne and her issue, agreeably to the established rule of succession, would have preceded William and his issue, this order was reversed, and the regal power became vested absolutely in the last. The crown, therefore, devolved on William, not by hereditary right, or *jure divino*, but by purchase, or *jure humano*, and he became the lawful possessor by virtue of an actual or supposed contract. The old oaths of allegiance and supremacy were accordingly renounced, and a new one substituted. (Blackstone.)

King William was *in fact* the sovereign; but was he *so of right*? The decision of this question involved important consequences. Those who cherished the antiquated and now exploded doctrine of the hereditary divine right of kings, and of the indefeasibility of that sacred, hereditary right, maintained that James, although expelled, was still the rightful and true sovereign; and, therefore, they refused to acknowledge William and to take the oath of allegiance. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and seven other prelates, assumed this ground; and, persisting in their refusal, they were deprived of their ecclesiastical dignities.* The deposed bishops, and others of the clergy who accorded with them, were distinguished as *Non-jurors*. They were also called *High-Churchmen*, on account of the exalted notions they entertained of the clerical character, and of ecclesiastical prerogatives and dignities. Hence the distinction of *High* and *Low Church*, founded on principles which certainly existed as early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The differences between the two parties, which were prominently marked in the successive reigns of William and Anne, were much softened down after the accession of George I. In matters relating

* "The deposed bishops and clergy formed a new Episcopal Church, which differed, in certain points of doctrine and certain circumstances of public worship, from the Established Church of England. They treat the Low Church as unsound and schismatical." (Mosheim.)

to the discipline of the Church, and even as respects ecclesiastical authority, two parties have continued to exist in the Church of England. The schism in that Church has never been healed.

“As William had been bred a Calvinist, and always expressed an abhorrence of spiritual persecution, the Presbyterians, and other Protestant dissenters, considered him as their peculiar protector, and entered into his interests with the most zealous fervor and assiduity. For the same reasons the friends of the Church became jealous of his proceedings, and employed all their influence, first in opposing his elevation to the throne, and afterward in thwarting his measures.” (Smollet.)

One of the first acts of the new king was to confirm by a proclamation all Protestant incumbents in their respective offices. He suggested to Parliament the omission of the *sacramental test*, in framing the new oath of allegiance, but the proposal was rejected by the House of Peers, although he had expressed his willingness to excuse the clergy from the oaths, on the condition that the sacramental test would not be required of the Protestant dissenters.

In the year 1689, the first *Toleration Act** in England was passed, “for exempting Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain laws.” This was not, however, a repeal of the *Corporation* and *Test Acts*; and the condition of enjoying its benefits was, that the applicant shall subscribe the Doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, (in relation to the true Christian faith and the sacraments,) and take the oaths to the government. There was, moreover, an express exception of Articles relating to the government and powers of the Church, and to infant baptism.

As a measure of sound policy and of safety to the kingdom, the Papists were excluded from the benefits of toleration; and Blackstone has assigned, in his commentaries, the unanswerable reason of their exclusion. “As to *Papists*,” he remarks, “what has been said of the Protestant dissenters would hold equally strong for a general toleration of them; provided their separation was founded only upon difference of opinion in religion, and their principles did not also extend to subversion of the civil

* The Catholic Emancipation Bill was passed in the year 1829.

government. If once they could be brought to renounce the supremacy of the Pope, they might quietly enjoy their seven sacraments, their purgatory, and auricular confession; their worship of reliques and images; nay, even their transubstantiation. *But while they acknowledge a foreign power, superior to the sovereignty of the kingdom*, they cannot complain if the laws of that kingdom will not treat them upon the footing of good subjects."

That able commentator having expounded the laws in relation to dissenters, remarks: "Thus, though the crime of non-conformity is by no means universally abrogated, it is suspended and ceases to exist with regard to these Protestant dissenters, during their compliance with the conditions imposed by these acts; and, under these conditions, all persons, who will approve themselves no Papists or oppugners of the Trinity, are left at full liberty to act as their consciences shall direct them, in the matter of religious worship."

In June the Scottish Parliament convened, and an act was passed, abolishing prelacy. Presbytery was again revived in that part of the kingdom; and in the re-organization of the Church, nothing was said of the covenant, either in the General Assembly or the inferior courts. The Scottish Church, thus delivered from the authority and jurisdiction of the bishops, re-assumed its ancient forms of worship and of discipline, which it has ever since preserved inviolate.

"It is from this period," says Mosheim, "that the nonconformists date the liberty and tranquillity they have long been blessed with, and still enjoy." And thus at the close of the seventeenth century, were secured to all true Christians, the blessed fruits of the *Great Reformation*, the rights of conscience, and the privilege of worshipping God in the true spirit of his Divine revelation. At this period may be closed the history of the "*Progress of the Reformation*" in Great Britain.

NOTE.—The severe statutes enacted, from time to time, by the Parliament of England, against the Papists, were necessary safeguards, to preserve the peace of the country, and to protect the religious and civil institutions of the kingdom. From the establishment of the order of the Jesuits, in 1534, to the battle of Cul-loden in 1746, in which Prince Charles Edward, son of the Pretender, was defeated, and Jacobitism, as the designation of a party, became contemptible, the efforts of the Papists to restore the supremacy of the Pope were untiring. The

plots against the life of Elizabeth—the powder-treason in the reign of James I.—the intrigues of Henrietta, the wife of Charles I.—the secret designs of Charles II. and James II., to introduce the Romish religion—the assassination plot against William—and the avowed claim to the throne by the Pretenders of the house of Stuart, demanded the most rigorous measures of defence. As the dangers from Popish machinations diminished, a spirit of toleration insensibly acquired an influence in the councils of the nation; and this was evinced in 1788, when Mr. Pitt addressed certain queries to six of the principal universities of the Romish faith. This distinguished statesman did not, however, display his accustomed sagacity; and he became the dupe of the Jesuitical casuists to whom his inquiries were addressed. Blanco White, a converted Popish priest, has explained the error, which Mr. Pitt, under the impulse of an honest intention, most singularly committed; and has stated the questions which should have been proposed, to accomplish the object in view." "Is there any principle," asked Mr. Pitt, "in the articles of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in breaking faith with heretics, or others who differ from them in religious opinions?" The universities, aware of the purpose intended—the amelioration of the condition of the English Papists—promptly answered in the negative. "Their task," says White, "would have required a greater degree of ingenuity, had the following questions been proposed." "Can the Pope, in virtue of what Roman Catholics believe his divine authority, command the assistance of the faithful in checking the progress of heresy, by any means not likely to produce loss or danger to the Roman Catholic Church?" and "Can that Church acknowledge the validity of any engagement to disobey the Pope in such cases?" These are questions, says White, of great practical importance to all sincere Catholics.

The government of Great Britain, deceived by the adroit Doctors, passed an act in 1793, which relieved the Papists from the rigorous penalties of former acts; and admitted them to the free exercise of their religion, on the conditions prescribed to other dissenters. In 1829, the Catholic emancipation bill was passed; and this placed all Christian dissenters (in its essential provisions) on an equality, in every respect, with the adherents to the Church of England.

APPENDIX.

A. (SEE PAGE 46.)

THE following is a translation of the Bull—or the indulgence which was preached and circulated by Tetzels, under the authority of the Pope.

“May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by his most holy passion; and I, by his authority, and that of his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of the most holy Pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee, first, from all ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner they have been incurred; and then, from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be; even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the Holy See; and as far as the keys of the Holy Church extend, I remit to you all punishment which you deserve in purgatory on their account, and I restore you to the holy sacraments of the Church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which you possessed at your baptism; so that, when you die, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight shall be opened; and if you shall not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when you are at the point of death. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”

In the year 1641 occurred the dreadful massacre of the Protestants by the Papists in Ireland. The following Bull in relation to that event was produced in the Court of King's Bench on the trial of Connor, Lord Macguire, Feb. 10, 1644; and may therefore be received as an authentic document. (See McGavin's Protestant, chap. iii.)

“*Ad futuram Rei Memoriam Urbanus Octavus*,” &c. It recites—“That having taken into his serious consideration the great zeal of the Irish toward the propagating of Catholic faith; which kingdom (for their singular fervency in the true worship of God) was of old called the land of saints: and having certain notice, that in imitation of their godly and worthy ancestors, they endeavored by force of arms to deliver their thrall'd nation from the oppressions of the heretics, and to extirpate those workers of iniquity, who had infected the mass of Catholic purity with the pestiferous leaven of their heretical contagion, by virtue of his power of binding and loosing, which God hath conferred upon him; to all and every the aforesaid Christians in the kingdom of Ireland, so long as they should militate against the said heretics and other enemies of the Catholic

faith, he did grant a full and plenary indulgence, and *absolute remission of all their sins, desiring* all of them to be partakers of this precious treasure ; dated from the Vatican, or St. Peter's palace in Rome, May 25th, 1643, and in the 20th year of his pontificate."

"After reading this," says McGavin, "will any Papist assert, that by an indulgence is not meant the remission of sin, or that it never was the practice of the Pope to grant permission to commit sin ? If they will assert this then they must admit that it is no sin to murder Protestants."

The following is an extract from the Jubilee Bull of Pope Leo XII. issued from the Vatican at Rome in 1824. "We have resolved," says he, "by virtue of the authority given to us from Heaven, fully to unlock that sacred treasure composed of the merits, sufferings, and virtues of Christ our Lord, and of his virgin mother, and of all the saints which the Author of human salvation has entrusted to our dispensation. To you, therefore, venerable brethren, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, it belongs to explain with perspicuity the power of indulgences : what is their efficacy in the remission, not only of the canonical penance, but also of the temporal punishment due to the Divine justice for past sin ; and *what succor is afforded out of this heavenly treasure, from the merits of Christ and his saints*, to such as have departed real penitents in God's love, yet before they had duly satisfied by fruits worthy of penance for sins of commission and omission, and are now purifying in the fire of purgatory."

An erroneous opinion is entertained by Protestants in the United States, that the Papal Church no longer assumes and exercises the power of granting an absolute remission of all sins, present and future, to the purchasers of indulgences. This, they admit, was a prerogative claimed by that Church in the ages of ignorance and superstition ; but believe that Popery in the nineteenth century has become more spiritual and refined, and has divested itself of this, as well as of the other absurdities which characterized it before the general diffusion of knowledge. They seem to have forgotten that the system is, from its infallibility, unchangeable ; and that this principle of immutability, founded on its assumed perfection, peculiarly distinguishes it from all other human institutions. The following document will show that the Romish Church has abandoned none of its ancient pretensions. It may advance them with caution in an enlightened Protestant country, and to accomplish its purposes may even abjure them ; but where it still holds its subjects in abject slavery, it abates nothing of either its temporal or spiritual supremacy.

The following is a Bull of indulgence for souls in purgatory, published in 1844 by Pope Gregory XVI. ; and is as gross an attempt to impose upon the ignorance and credulity of its superstitious votaries as can be found in the annals of that Church. It was obtained by Sir Culling Eardley at Palermo, in Sicily. "The reader will perceive," says Sir Culling, "that the form of indulgence comprises a receipt in full for the sum which (under the name of *almas*) must be paid before the indulgence is granted. On the price being paid, the names of the parties are inserted in manuscript. This document alone would constitute sufficient proof that ecclesiastical benefits are bestowed by the Church of Rome, in consideration of, and in return for, the money paid on the occasion, which money is the price of the benefit.

" Bull of the most Holy Cross, by which Pope Gregory XVI granted penary indulgence to the deceased faithful for the year 1844.

" The holy Job, to express the ingratitude of his friends who abandoned him in his misfortunes, thus with energetic expressions manifested his feeling: ' My brethren have passed me by as a brook, which hastily traverses the valleys.' (Job. vi. 15.) The unhappy souls that dwell in purgatory, knowing that God has placed their pardon in the hands of the faithful, and that the completion of their happiness in a certain way depends on them, wait with holy impatience for offices of such great moment to be rendered to them; but seeing, that so far from being touched by the pains which they suffer, they maintain an insensibility quite contrary to Christian charity, they bitterly exclaim, like holy Job: ' Our brethren have passed us by; '* Wherefore our holy Father, moved by pastoral zeal for those souls, exhorts you, O faithful, to co-operate for the alleviation of their pains by the indulgences which he concedes to you.

" And to you, ———, who have given the wonted pious alms fixed by us, Ferdinand M. Cardinal Pignatelli, Archbishop of Palermo, General Apostolic Commissioner of the Holy Cross, for the soul of ———, and have received this holy Bull; to you is confirmed the above indulgence. Given in Palermo, 6th Sept. 1843."

The pictorial designs on the document, were—two figures on the left at the top represent the Pope; the one with two keys teaches his authority as head of the Church, and that he can unlock the treasures of heaven; the one with the sword, shows that he is at the head of secular governments—thus uniting supreme spiritual and temporal power in the same person. On the right is the Papal coat of arms, which consists of the Apostolic keys and the triple Crown, worn only by the Pope. At the bottom on the left, is the seal of the cross, and on the right the seal of the Bishop of Palermo, who signed this blasphemous indulgence. (See Amer. Protest. vol. i. No. 3.)

Gregory Cassalis, Henry's agent at the Court of Rome, in a letter dated 18th Sep. 1530, says: " His Holiness, a few days ago, secretly (because he considered the affair to be one of very high importance) submitted to me the following accommodation, viz. *that an indulgence may be granted to your majesty to have two wives.*" (McGavin's Prot. Chap. v.) See in this History Supra, Chap. v.

" The Tax of the Apostolic Chancery" contains the price of absolution for each particular sin; by the payment of which, absolute remission may be obtained without regard to the enormity of the crime committed; for example:

	s. d.
For procuring abortion	7 6
For simony	10 6
For robbing	12 0
For lying with a mother, sister, &c.	7 6
For keeping a concubine	10 6
For burning a neighbor's house	12 0
For murdering a layman	7 6
For laying violent hands on a clergyman	10 6

* In the 23d verse, Job asks—" Did I say, redeem me from the hand of the mighty ?" It is remarkable how infelicitous the Popes have been in their quotations of Scripture.

No sum can atone for a priest's marrying; but he might keep a concubine by paying 10s. 6d. If any one purchase letters of indulgence, his soul may rest secure as to its salvation. The souls confined in purgatory, for whose redemption indulgences are purchased, as soon as the money tinkles in the chest, instantly escape from that place of torment, and ascend into heaven! (Ency. Rel. Know.)

B. (SEE PAGE 174.)

The Thursday which precedes Easter is called Maunday Thursday, from the maunds or baskets which contain the gifts to be distributed as alms among the poor on that day. This was done by the sovereigns in England, at the palace at Whitehall; and is a custom of very great antiquity. The day thus appointed by the English monarchs for the distribution of eleemosynary donations, is also the day set apart by the Popes for pronouncing in solemn form the most dreadful anathemas,* from the balcony of the Basilica, against the heretics. These are the charitable contributions annually bestowed upon Protestants of all denominations by the vicars of Christ and apostolic successors of St. Peter.

These anathemas are pronounced by the Popes at the celebration of the Lord's Supper; the time and the occasion being thought peculiarly appropriate for consigning to the torments of the damned the enemies of Popery. On the day for the observance of this solemn religious ceremony the square before the Basilica is decorated with laurel and myrtle; wax candles burn on the balcony of the church, and beside them is elevated the cibory, or gold chalice, in which the host is deposited. Suddenly the deep sound of bells reverberates through the air. The Holy Father, arrayed in his pontifical robes, and borne in an arm-chair, makes his appearance on the balcony. The assembled multitude prostrate themselves before him, with uncovered heads; the flags, which were waving in the air, are lowered; the troops ground their arms; and a death-like silence pervades the immense crowd who occupy the square. After a solemn pause of some moments, the ghostly Father slowly stretches out his hands, lifts them up toward heaven, and then, making the sign of the cross, lets them gradually fall toward the earth. These gestures are three times repeated. Again the pealing bells are heard; giving notice, far and wide, of the Pontiff's benedictions. A train of priests soon after advances, each with a lighted torch in his hand.† As they rush hurriedly along, they swing their torches downwards, they brandish them aloft, they toss them wildly to and fro, like so many fires of hell. The multitude are thrilled with awe and terror; and the words of malediction roll heavily above their heads. (D'Aubigné.)

"Pius, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, in perpetual memory of the

* By a Bull entitled—*In Cena Domini*.

† This part of the ceremony was evidently derived from the Pagan rites—the source of all the religious ceremonies of the Papal Church. It was customary in the Eleusinian mysteries to dedicate torches to *Ceres*, who sought Proserpine abducted by Pluto into the infernal regions. Iacchus, who accompanied her, bore a torch, and was crowned with myrtle.

thing now decreed." "The pastoral vigilance and care of the Roman Pontiff, by the duty of his office, being continually employed in procuring, by all means, the peace and tranquillity of Christendom, is more especially eminent in retaining and preserving the unity and integrity of the Catholic faith; so that the faithful of Christ may not be as children wavering, nor be carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the cunning craft of men, whereby they lie in wait to deceive; but that all may meet in the unity of the faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man. That in the communion and society of this life they may not injure nor offend one another; but rather being joined together with the bond of charity, as members of one body, under Christ the head, and his vicar upon earth, the Roman Pontiff, Peter's successor, from whom the unity of the whole Church doth flow, may be increased in edification, and by the assistance of Divine grace, may so enjoy the tranquillity of this present life, that they also may attain eternal happiness. For which causes, the Roman Pontiffs our predecessors, upon this day which is dedicated to the anniversary commemoration of our Lord's Supper, have been used solemnly to exercise the spiritual sword of ecclesiastical discipline, and wholesome weapons of justice, by the ministry of the supreme apostolate, to the glory of God and the salvation of souls. We, therefore, desiring nothing more than to preserve inviolable the integrity of faith, public peace, and justice, follow this ancient and solemn custom.

"In the name of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and the authority of the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, and by our own—we excommunicate and anathematize all *Hussites, Wickliffites, Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Huguenots, Anabaptists, Trinitarians*, and all apostates from the faith; and all other heretics, by whatsoever name they are called, or of whatsoever sect they be. And also their adherents, receivers, favorers, and generally, any defenders of them; with all, who, without our authority, or that of the apostolic see, knowingly read, or retain, or in any way, or from any cause, publicly or privately, or from any pretext, defend their books containing heresy, or treating of religion; as also schismatics, and those who withdraw themselves, or recede obstinately from their obedience to us, or the existing Roman Pontiff, &c."

The above comprises but a small portion of this precious document. I have inserted two sections only. There are usually not less than thirty. The extent and phraseology may be varied by each Pope, according to the exigency of the times and the occasion. The 29th section of that from which I have copied provides, "That all patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and prelates, as also all rectors, and others having cure of souls, and priests, secular and regular, of whatever orders, deputed by any authority to hear confession of sins, shall have a transcript of these present letters by them, and shall diligently study to read and understand them. The last section declares the following premonitory advice and injunction:

"Let no man, therefore, infringe, or boldly or rashly oppose, this our letter of excommunication, anathematization, interdict, &c., command and pleasure. But if any one shall presume to attempt it, let him know that he shall incur the displeasure of Almighty God, and of his blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul."

When the pontiff has concluded his anathemas, the parchment on which they

were written is torn up and its fragments scattered among the people. Each one is anxious to seize a scrap, to be preserved as a precious relic, an amulet against the powers of Satan, and a certain passport to heaven. It is also customary for the pontiff to throw a burning torch into the public square before the church to denote the thunder of his anathema. This is an annual ceremony observed on the Thursday preceding Easter. And, let it be understood by all Protestants, in whatever portion of the world they may reside, that they are, equally with those residing within the Ecclesiastical States, the doomed objects of this Papal anathema; and, moreover, that all Popish priests who reside under Protestant governments, are furnished with copies of the Bull *In Cena Domini*, and that it is their sacred duty to enforce it, whenever, and wherever, it can be done with safety to their persons. Each citizen of the United States is claimed as a liege subject by the Pope of Rome—as a vassal, bound to render a servile obedience to his lord; and neither the lapse of time, nor circumstances, can release him from his condition of subjection, and his obligation of fealty and submission.

C. (SEE PAGE 294.)

The profession of faith required of all Romish priests, and by which they are solemnly sworn, is recorded in the Bull of Pope Pius IV., and in the decrees of the Council of Trent. To this may be added the canonical oath,* which every prelate takes at his consecration, and which is equally obligatory upon every inferior ecclesiastic. *Ego P. P., ab hac hora in antea, &c., Pontif. Rom. De Consecrat. Elect. in Episcopum, page 57.* "I, P. P., from this time forward, will be faithful and obedient to my lord the Pope and his successors. The councils with which they trust me I will not discover to any man, to the injury of the Pope and his successors. I will assist them to retain and defend the popedom, and the royalties of Peter, against all men. I will carefully conserve, defend and promote, the rights, honors, privileges, and authority of the Pope. I will not be in any council, fact, or treaty, in which any thing prejudicial to the person, rights, or power of the Pope is contrived; and if I shall know any such things, I will hinder them to the utmost of my power, and with all possible speed I will signify them to the Pope. To the utmost of my power I will observe the Pope's commands, and make others observe them. I will impugn and persecute all heretics, and rebels to my lord the Pope," &c. With many more articles of a similar character, and especially the condition to enforce the observance of the same principles and rules by all those who attend the confessional, and to obtain their promise of fidelity before they shall receive absolution! (McGavin's Prot. Appendix, vol ii., p. 695.) Such, says the writer, is the oath taken by the prelates to the Court of Rome, which is nothing else than an express and solemn promise to betray their respective governments. Each clause of the oath imposes an obligation to commit high treason.

* The oath which Jesuits swear, in addition to all their other official obligations, has been inserted in the Appendix of the first volume, page 311. These are all taken by those who are sent over to the United States and elsewhere.

"I have mentioned, on the authority of Mr. Morrissey, (a Romish priest,) that a priest has lately gone from Ireland (1821) to establish the Inquisition in the United States; and this will no doubt be scouted at as the most chimerical thing in the world. What! the Inquisition! the Americans will never submit to that! Nay, but they have submitted to it already; and they will do so again. The Inquisition consists of a thousand degrees of atrocity, from the *pious confession* to the rack and the "dry-pan," in which the bodies of heretics are burned over a slow fire. In auricular confession every priest is an inquisitor. He inquires into the most secret thoughts of those who acknowledge his ghostly authority. He becomes acquainted with all their faults, and with all their crimes, if they have been so unhappy as to make themselves criminal even in thought. Then he obtains absolute authority over them, *and makes them do whatever he pleases; and they dare not disobey him*, for he knows their crimes, and may divulge them. An engine is put into the hand of every priest, which, with a little address, he may make use of to subvert the best civil government in the world, if those who submit their consciences to him have any place in such government. And therefore it is that I maintain that a Papist cannot be safely entrusted with power over any but persons of his own communion; and even over them he must be an arbitrary governor, if it be the will of his priest that he should be so. I do not think the Americans were called upon, when framing their Constitution, to ordain any restrictions with regard to liberty of worship, but I think they might have ordained that no man should hold an office of power and authority in their republic who owed spiritual or temporal allegiance to a foreign power. This would have shut out Papists, without so much as naming Popery; and it would have been doing no more than what every State has a right to do, and ought to do, if it pays any regard to its own preservation." (McGavin's Protestant.)

D. (SEE PAGE 416.)

The 18th Article of the Confession of Faith of the Church of England declares, that "they also are to be had accursed that presume to say that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature. For Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved."

giance which every Papist acknowledges as due to the Roman Pontiff, through the machinations and spiritual exhortations of the Popish priests appointed by our President, in honest simplicity, as chaplains in the army. Such a result was anticipated by all who knew well the character and principles of the Jesuits.

* "It seems not generally known that after the commencement of the present century Pope Pius VII. re-established the Jesuits, restored their privileges, and recommended them to the favor of his Papal subjects both in Europe and America. In the United States the Jesuits are increased by continual emigrations, chiefly from France, Austria, and Ireland, and are directing their utmost efforts toward the advancement of the Romish Church, and the establishment of the Papal power among the people." (Ruter, Hist. of Christ. Church.)

The congregation is the true Church of Christ is a congregation of saints, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the sacraments rightly administered, and among the people are all those things that are necessary to their salvation." The 21st Article declares, that "it is not lawful for any man to take upon the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, who hath not been lawfully called and sent to exercise the same." And the 22d Article judges lawfully called and sent which is "when he hath obtained the authority of his brethren, given unto him in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." With this view to the doctrine of the Confession of the French Protestant Church, given in substance by declaring that "all pastors, elders and deacons shall be lawfully called and sent being called into the respective offices." The expression is not in the act of providing for synodical union which a lawful calling and sending is a public testimony of their being called, cannot be obtained, and thus is contained in the 21st Article of the Confession of the Church of England, was inserted, and was actually admitted, not only by those who signed the Articles, but by the whole of that Church for above half an age after."

The lawfulness of calling and sending may be recalled by Jesus Christ alone, and not by any man, which is affirmed. The Scriptures have explicitly declared this a fundamental doctrine of the true Christian Church. Evangelists and Apostles successors of any apostolic representation in the society, members of the various synodical constitutions of spiritual character; and members of all the rights and privileges appertaining to the visible Church of Christ, and of a necessary partnership with those connected with the preaching of the Word, and administering the sacraments. In as 18th and 19th Articles of the Confession of England, is emphatically embodied, and with it attached the following declaration: "And so forth." As regards the construction of the word *lawful*, which has been interpreted by the High-Churchmen as meaning, according to the usage of the Presbyterian Churches, it may be observed, that it was not so viewed by the Pope of Archbishop Laud, nor by the various divines, and has been defined by the highest authorities in the Anglican Church since that time.

And it may be said that the summary of such proceedings of forty-two articles, drawn up in the reign of Edward VI. was compiled by the joint labors of Bucer and Beza of the French Church, and the English divines—the former of those usually named, occupied the ordinary chair in the University of Cambridge, and was at the same time a student while at France. Gualtero and Fagius were canons in English universities. Their labors stand in the authority of the London Christian Church of the time, that of the Churchmen, Ridley, Latimers, Hoopers, Jewells, and others, of the days of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, though we know that Bucer, being a full and consistent, and sincerely attached to it, and that some of his disciples, yet having embraced the Lutheran and Reformed doctrines, as being more rational. Travers, chaplain to Secretary Cecil, has been supposed to that minister, says: "All the churches professing the Word of God, and the exercise of the ministry among them, all such as have been lawfully called before in any of the churches of our confession. And in the Church of England the same hath been also observed unto this day."

This reciprocity of rights and benefits, founded upon a Christian fellowship of feeling, was continued for some time after. And it is a fact of historical record, that "a considerable number of ministers were, in the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, employed in the English establishment, who had only received Presbyterian ordination in Holland or at Geneva." Neal has moreover stated that "the Reformers admitted the ordination of foreign churches by mere presbyters, till toward the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, when their validity began to be disputed and denied." This is corroborated by statute 13th of Elizabeth, cap. 12, which declares "that every person under the degree of bishop, who doth, or shall pretend to be a priest, or minister of God's holy word and sacrament, by reason of any other form of institution, consecration, or ordering, than the form set forth by Parliament, shall declare his assent, and subscribe the Articles." Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, has assigned the true reason for this inter-communion of the Protestant Churches of that age, by the opinion he expressed "that bishops and priests were both one office;" and this is further confirmed in "the divine institution of bishops and priests," or book of orders and government of the Church of England, (1538) by the declaration that "priests or bishops had this office, power, and authority, committed unto them by Christ and his apostles." Bishop Burnet has further testified, that "no bishop in Scotland, during his (my) stay in that kingdom, (reign of Charles II.) ever did so much as desire any of the Presbyterians to be re-ordained;" and Dr. Bernard, the biographer of Usher, the Archbishop of Armagh, says: "If the ordination of presbyters in such places where bishops cannot be had, were not valid, the late bishops of Scotland (close of the seventeenth century) had a hard task to maintain themselves to be bishops, who were not priests, for their ordination was no other."*

In reference then to the true interpretation of the 23d Article of the Confession of the Church of England, we have the undoubted testimony, not only of Cranmer and his colleagues, by whom that formula was drawn out, but of the highest authorities in that Church, certainly down to the reign of Charles II. And we are further assured by Bishop Burnet, who, in allusion to the irregular ministration received into many of the Protestant churches, (permitting those of their own number without any formal ordination, to take upon them the office of public preaching and ministering the sacraments,) remarks: "that not only those who penned the Articles, but the body of the Church for above half an age after, did, notwithstanding those irregularities, acknowledge the foreign

* "After the death of Dr. Ross, Bishop of Edinburg, the last of those ordained before the revolution, there were no local bishops in Scotland, not one appointed to any diocese, or having the inspection of any people, or spiritual jurisdiction over any district. The warmest partisans of Episcopacy have not scrupled to own, that at that gentleman's death all the dioceses in Scotland were become vacant. The ordination, therefore, of our present Scotch Episcopal clergy is solely from presbyters. When we say their orders are from presbyters, we use the word, not in the apostolical but in the more recent sense, for a sort of subordinate ministers, who are not authorized to ordain, and who, on Dr. Hammond's hypothesis as well as ours, were not originally in the Church." (Dr. Campbell's Lect. Eccles. Hist.) By these bishops, Seabury, of Connecticut, was consecrated to the Episcopal office; Bass, of Newburyport, by Seabury, &c.

churches so constituted to be true churches,* as to all the essentials of a church, though they had been at first irregularly formed, and continued still to be in an imperfect state." "And therefore," he says, "the general words in which this part of the Article is framed, seem to have been designed on purpose not to exclude them." "The definition here given of those that are lawfully called and sent," remarks Bishop Burnet, "is put in very general words, far from that magisterial stiffness in which some (the non-jurors, &c.) have taken upon them to dictate in this matter. The Article does not resolve this into any particular constitution, but leaves the matter open and at large for such accidents as had happened, and such as might still happen. Those who drew it had the state of the several Churches before their eyes that had been differently reformed; and although their own had been less forced out of the beaten path than any other, yet they knew that all things among themselves had not gone according to those rules that ought to be sacred in regular times; necessity has no law, and is a law unto itself." But the fifty-fifth canon of that Church seems to be conclusive, as to the true spirit with which the Thirty-nine Articles were composed. It directs that "ye shall pray for Christ's holy Catholic Church; that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world, and especially for the Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland," &c.

Hence it was that Hooker admits, "that ordinations had oftentimes been effected without a bishop to ordain; and therefore," he says, "we are not simply, without exception, to urge a lineal descent of power from the apostles, by continued succession of bishops in every effectual ordination," and Sober remarks, that "the Church of England, and its whole episcopate, must trace up the original of its present constitutional existence to the regal supremacy, as exercised by her majesty's progenitors, the kings and queens of England, commencing with the infamous Henry VIII." It was in view of the generally admitted principle, that irregularities, and even entire omissions, in the episcopal ordination of ministers, did not deprive a church, orthodox in faith, of the character of a true Christian Church, that Bishop White, of Philadelphia, in "The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States considered," written by him in 1782, proposed, that as "all former jurisdiction over the churches were withdrawn, and the chain which held them together broken, their future continuance should be provided for by voluntary associations for union and good government." He maintained that Episcopacy is binding only when it can be conveniently had; that, although to be venerated and preferred, as the most ancient and

* "The learned and pious Archbishop Wake of Canterbury, in a letter to Father Courayer, dated from Croydon House, July 9, 1724, wrote the following sentiment: I bless God that I was born and have been bred in an Episcopal Church, which, I am convinced has been the government established in the Christian Church from the very time of the Apostles. But I should be unwilling to affirm, that where the ministry is not Episcopal, there is no Church, nor any true administration of the sacraments. And very many there are among us who are zealous for Episcopacy, yet dare not go so far as to annul the ordinances of God performed by any other ministry." (Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. 18th cent. Note by MacLaine.)

eligible form, it is not invested with any *divine right**—and this he affirms to be the sentiment (at that time) of the great body of Episcopalians in America, and that in this respect they have in their favor unquestionably the sense of the Church of England; that to relinquish the worship of God and the reformation of the people, from a scrupulous adherence to Episcopacy, would be sacrificing the substance to the ceremony; that the acknowledged ordinances of Christ should not be dispensed with out of delicacy to a disputed point, and that relating only to externals; and recommended the election of a superior order of ministers by the clergy and laity together, &c.; and suggested, that, if the episcopal succession should be afterwards obtained, any supposed imperfections of the intermediate ordinations might, if it were judged proper, be supplied, without acknowledging their nullity, by a conditional ordination, resembling that of conditional baptism in the liturgy. He affirmed, that his proposed departure from Episcopacy (in the present instance) would be warranted by its doctrines, by its practice, and by the principles on which Episcopal government is asserted.

The Episcopal congregations in the colonies were under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. By the declaration of national independence this tie was necessarily dissolved. There remained no longer a bond of union among them; and the Episcopal establishment in each State considered itself as distinct and separate from that in every other State, and therefore independent of every other church with respect to its government and ecclesiastical ordinances. It was under this existing state of things that Mr. White proposed to establish a union of all the Episcopal churches in the United States into one body or church. "His proposed organization," says Smyth, "was, in all essential features, Presbyterian." In October, 1784, many of the clergy and laity of the Episcopal Church in New York convened, and proposed a general convention of the churches, by their delegates, in Philadelphia. "Early in the following year, the clergy of South Carolina met, and agreed to send delegates to the next general meeting; but in complying with the invitation to co-operate in the measures necessary to effect a general union, they accompanied their compliance with an unequivocal proof of their sense of the independence of the South Carolina Church, for they annexed to it an understanding that no bishop was to be settled in that State."

On the 27th of September, 1785, a general convention of the churches assembled in Philadelphia, and among other acts, it was resolved, that an address be sent to the English bishops and archbishops, expressing a desire to perpetuate in the United States the principles of the Church of England in doctrine, discipline, and worship; and praying that their lordships would consecrate to the

* Bishop White, in his episcopal charge, in 1834, declared that, "while bound to sustain the integrity of their system, there is not perceived the necessity of carrying it to the extreme of denouncing all communions destitute of the episcopacy, as departing from the essentials of the Christian faith, and as aliens from the covenants of promise." This medium he asserts to be the position advocated by the articles and ordinal of the Church of England. Differences of opinion, he said, may exist, but they are not to be obtruded as the determination of the Church. See Smyth's "Apostolic Succession," for the authorities quoted and referred to in this portion of the Appendix.

Episcopacy the persons who should be sent, with that view, from the churches in any of the respective States. We are informed by Dr. Wilson, in his memoirs of Bishop White, that in the Southern States, and particularly in South Carolina, it was thought there was no necessity to resort to foreign bishops to obtain the succession, but that we might appoint and ordain them for ourselves." Which was a wise and liberal view of the subject.

The petition was presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and an act of Parliament was obtained, to enable him to comply with the prayer of the petitioners. The preamble of that act declares, that "whereas, by the laws of this realm, no person can be consecrated to the office of a bishop, without the king's license for his election to that office, and the royal mandate under the great seal for his confirmation and consecration, &c." From which it would appear, that as the American bishops, who were consecrated under the authority of this act, were invested with no higher spiritual prerogatives and privileges, than the consecrating bishops were themselves endowed with, they could not transmit to others the Episcopal succession but by the express sanction and authority of the spiritual head from whom they derived their own Episcopal character. The ordinations subsequently performed by them without the king's *Commissio*, for a previous election, or his subsequent mandate under the great seal for the rite of consecration, &c., must necessarily have been null and void; for if these are forms supererogatory *ante* their ordination, why may they not have been dispensed with in the first instance!

William White of Philadelphia, and Samuel Provoost of New York, were duly consecrated bishops, in the chapel of the archiepiscopal palace of Lambeth, by the Most Reverend John Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, being presented by the Most Reverend William Markham, Archbishop of York. The Right Reverend Charles Moss, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the Right Reverend John Hinchliff, Bishop of Peterborough, joined with the two archbishops in the imposition of hands. The prelacy of the Anglican Church was thus transferred to the Church in the United States, and its system of Episcopal hierarchy perfected. How far it partook of the character of apostolic succession, as derived from the *Mother Church of Rome*, has been sufficiently unfolded in the preceding pages. The Anglican succession itself depends upon the validity of Archbishop Parker's consecration, in the reign of Elizabeth; and this, it has been shown, was received from four English bishops who had been degraded and disowned by that very Church which was the acknowledged depository of this sacred trust.

The Rev. Samuel Seabury, of Connecticut, had some time before this been consecrated to this Episcopal office by three of the non-juring bishops of Scotland. The doubts entertained of the validity of Seabury's episcopacy induced the convention in Philadelphia to apply to the Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1789, a difficulty arose on an application for the consecration of the Rev. Edward Bass of Newburyport; and the question was seriously discussed—whether Bishop Seabury could unite with White and Provoost in the rite of consecration. It was determined, however, by a vote in favor of his episcopacy. But neither White nor Provoost had ever received baptism from Episcopal hands. It had been settled by the archbishop and bishops in London—"that if the essentials had been preserved in a baptism by a *lay-hand*, it was not to be repeated;" and this difficulty,

like the former, was summarily disposed of. The Church had determined upon the possession of the apostolic succession, *coûte qui coûte*; and it was equally resolved not to be divested of it by technicalities, or by fastidious interpretation of the law.

I shall here conclude with the following truly Christian sentiment expressed by Bishop White, in his letter to Bishop Hobart in 1830. "I am still of opinion that, in an exigency in which a duly authorized ministry cannot be obtained, the paramount duty of preaching the Gospel and of worshipping God on the terms of the Christian covenant, should go on in the best manner which circumstances permit. In regard to the episcopacy, I think it should be sustained as the government of the Church from the time of the Apostles, *but without criminalizing the ministry of other Churches, as is the case with the Church of England.*"

NOTE.—Although Diocesan Episcopacy is but a human institution, and was unquestionably the corner-stone of the Papal Hierarchy, as it cannot be proved that any particular form of Church government was expressly laid down in the Scriptures of the New Testament, and the observance of any prescribed constitution enjoined, the predilections of those Christians who are attached to episcopacy should not be a cause of offence with others who prefer a more simple and republican form of ecclesiastical administration. The cause of Christian truth is little promoted by a spirit of detraction, and by an indulgence in language of reproach and recrimination. The several churches maintaining the faith as set forth in the Gospel should rather endeavor to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

